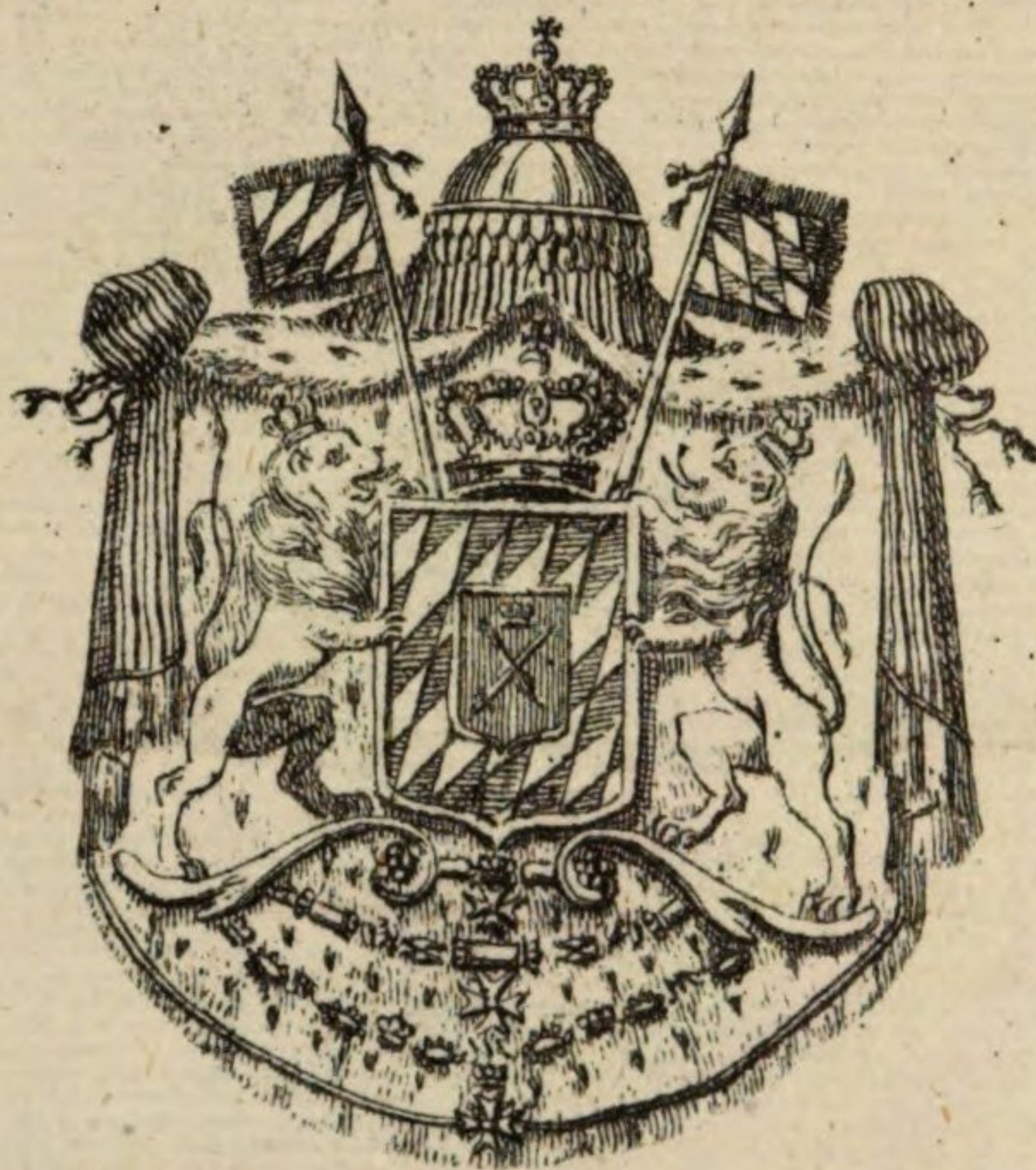


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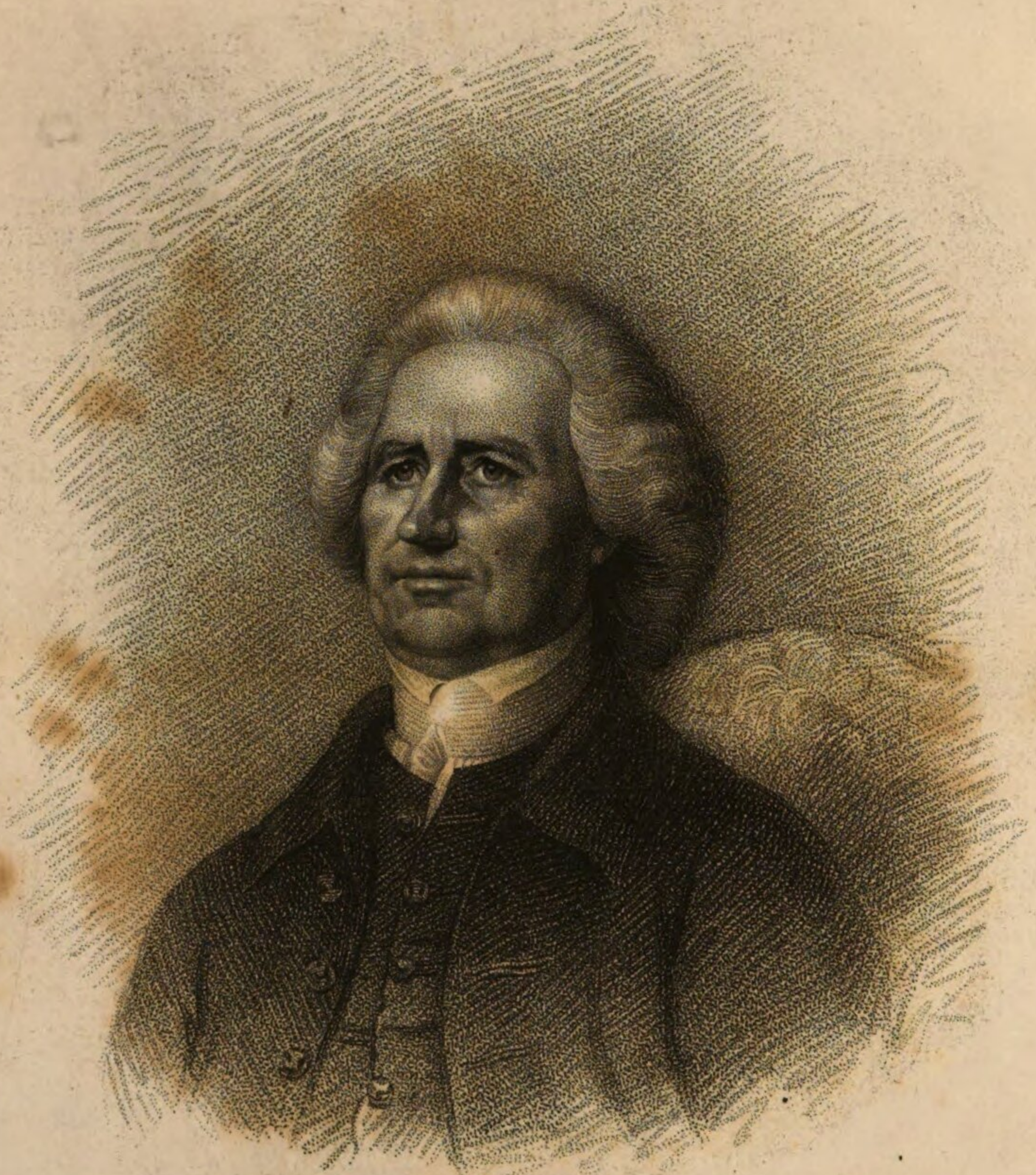
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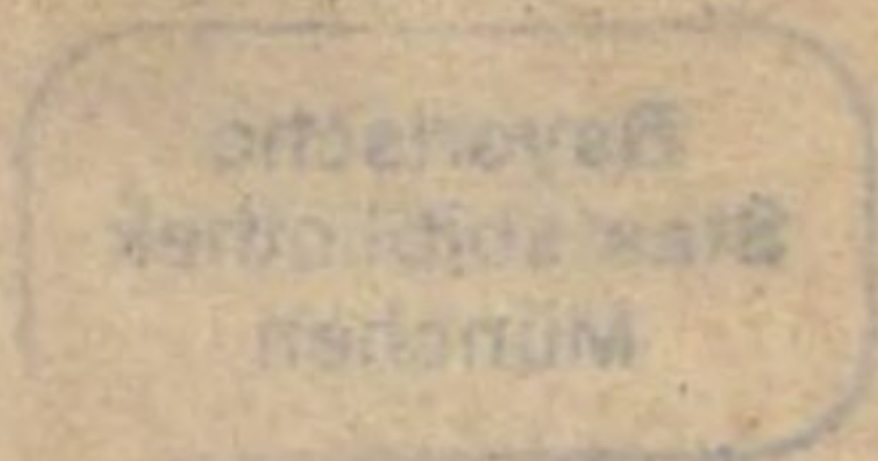
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ERRATA.

Page 193, line 11, for *Maxinano* read *Maxareno*.

215, — 2 (from bottom), for *Stourghton* read *Stourton*.

273, — 4 (from bottom), for *thousund* read *thousand*.

308, — 3, for *nimium* read *nimirum*.

ib. — 17, for *longam* read *longum*.

332, — 2 (from bottom), for *perturbationere perire* read *perturbatione reperire*.

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334, — 11, for *cæno* read *cæno*.

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INTRODUCTORY EPISTLE.

To the Right Reverend John England,
D.D. &c. &c. Bishop of Charleston,
South Carolina, North America.

My dear Brother,

Before you quitted Ireland in 1820, and went to fill the arduous and important station which you now occupy in the American church, you had reason to think that I intended employing my few leisure hours in the composition of a work like the present. With various interruptions, having at length brought it to a conclusion, I have to regret the impossibility of submitting it, before publication, to your perusal and judgment ; but as some prefatory elucidations are always expected from an author, I shall indulge myself in the inclination which I feel to address them to you.

Amongst those of our countrymen, whose exertions in the cause of religious liberty deserved the reward of public gratitude,

Arthur O'Leary stands deservedly prominent. He laboured well and usefully in support of virtue and humanity ; and, therefore, the feeble effort now made, to rescue the memory of his name from premature oblivion, will, it is hoped, meet with some share of indulgence. The old assertion, that the lives of literary men furnish in general but scanty materials for the pen of the biographer, does fortunately not apply strictly to him ; and, in the present instance, by aiming in an humble sphere, to adopt the system of useful biography recommended by Dr. Priestly, an attempt is made, to render the life of O'Leary subservient to more general and valuable purposes, than could be expected to follow from the barren detail of his habits and opinions, whether of a political or religious character. To this circumstance is owing, principally, the introduction of the historical details which diversify the following pages, and which are calculated, without interrupting the main object of the book, to excite interest, and communicate information on some subjects of national and political importance.

In recording my sentiments of toleration and liberty of conscience, I am aware that I only express those which animate your breast, and regulate your conduct as a Christian bishop ; and you must reflect upon it as a pleasing coincidence, that when you left this country, in compliance with the wishes of the Holy See, you found a congenial principle of liberality pervading every class of persons in the extensive and flourishing republic where you now reside. There are religious associations connected with America, which you cannot have overlooked ; and it must have been a matter of honest pride to you, to reflect, that a catholic was the first to give the example of liberty of conscience as a legislator, and that America, your adopted country, furnishes the first and most striking instance of its diffusion in the person of Lord Baltimore. He was speedily followed in the same career by a great and good man—I mean William Penn. Their principles on the subject were the same ; the results similar ; and the influence of their bright example shines down, even to our times, with cheering and undiminished lustre.

Humanity and religion are indebted to both ; but in the merit of precedence, the palm will be freely and justly ceded to the catholic legislator of Maryland.

The materials from which I was enabled to compose such historical details as I found necessary or useful to introduce into the life of O'Leary, were principally drawn from the voluminous and invaluable manuscript collection of our late venerated Bishop Moylan, which you placed in my hands, with occasional aids from the papers committed to my care by our respected friend Mr. F. Plowden. From these sources, perhaps the most authentic and abundant in the kingdom, a valuable history of the Irish catholics during the last century, could, with some care, be easily deduced ; and, if the specimen of such a detail, to which I have given a place in the present volume, meet approbation, I may, in some time, be led to enter into a much more minute and interesting history of that body.

The biographical sketches which I have occasionally introduced, must plead their own cause. I thought them necessary to

the completion of the work ; and they may, perhaps, be found otherwise interesting.

The only portion of these pages which I could wish more full, is that part which regards the disturbances in Munster during the year 1786, in the quieting of which O'Leary took so conspicuous and successful a part. Evils of a like nature unhappily exist at this moment, arising too, from the same alleged causes. The painful duty of assisting, within *the last* month, preparatory to their death, *SIXTEEN wretched victims to the just vengeance of the law*, for taking a share in these tumults, has fully confirmed in my mind, the opinions which I have there uttered ; and the only regret I feel, arises from my not having entered more diffusely into a detail of the grievances, of which the lower classes of the Irish peasantry have too much cause to complain. The benevolent anxiety of the greater part of the resident gentry, for the prevention and removal of these evils, is above praise ; but the permanent and effectual remedies, are beyond their competency. They rest with the legislature ; and is it too much to hope, that they will speedily find that considera-

tion, which they so much invoke and deserve?

Amongst the kind friends to whom I am indebted for aid in the arrangement of these pages for the press, I should be ungrateful indeed, if I did not offer the tribute of sincere gratitude to James Roche, Esq.—a gentleman, whose extensive and profound literary knowledge, is only equalled by the anxiety which he uniformly manifests for the advancement of science, and the best interests of the history and literature of his native country. The resources of his enlightened mind, and the aid of his classical pen, were freely afforded to me; and some of the barren spots of my manuscript, which he patiently perused, were improved and corrected by his friendly condescension. To my respected Bishop, Dr. Murphy, Rt. Rev. Dr. Milner, and Mr. George Keating of London, I am indebted for the kind encouragement and valuable information, which they communicated to me in the prosecution of my design; and I respectfully offer to them my grateful acknowledgments.

In conclusion, I shall only add, and

there is sincerity, and not affectation, in the acknowledgment, that in their execution, the following pages fell much short of what I originally contemplated, or what the subject deserves. For their imperfections, many causes could be assigned, which it would be idle, or perhaps impertinent, to offer in apology to the public.

I remain, with respect and affection,

My dear Lord and Brother,

Yours,

THOMAS RICHARD ENGLAND.

Cork, March 17th,
1822.

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THOMAS RICHARD ENGLAND.

Coth, March 17th,

1832.

THE
L I F E
OF
THE REVEREND
ARTHUR O'LEARY,

&c. &c. &c.

ARTHUR O'Leary was born in the year 1729, in the western part of the county of Cork in Ireland. His parents were undistinguished amongst the industrious and oppressed peasantry, who at the time of his birth, and for years afterwards, suffered under the terror and operation of the penal laws against Roman catholics. The family from which he descended was early distinguished in Irish history ; but if his immediate ancestors ever enjoyed a higher rank in the social scale than that which is derived from successful industry, their circumstances had changed long before his birth, as a name which excited the

respect of his countrymen, and a mind worthy the possessor of such a name, were the only inheritance of which he could boast.

Nothing is now recollected of the days of O'Leary's youth, nor does it fall to the lot of his biographer to embody those evanescent traits of genius which are generally said to characterise the first expansion of a great mind. The humble sphere in which his early days were passed renders any notice of them impossible ; and even if the eye of friendship had marked the progress of the thoughtless and playful hours of early youth, their delineation may possibly possess neither interest nor instruction. The developement of character is in some persons so slow, and in others so dependent upon circumstances of time and place, that little of future fame can be guessed at from the silly freaks of boyhood, or the dark indications of youthful propensity. Precocity is not always the harbinger of genius ; and in our progress through life we not unfrequently recognize in some dull uninteresting character, him, whom we knew to have been once the boast of his

preceptor, and the envied hero in academical rivalry. O'Leary was fond, in his mirthful moments, of giving ludicrous representations of scenes of his youth ; but the humour which imparted such charm and effect to his writings no less enlivened his conversation ; and the friends, who enjoyed the innocent gaiety of his social hours, could not always determine how far these delineations of his boyish years were embellished by the playfulness of a luxuriant fancy.

In one of his writings he alludes to his early education, and it would appear from the few words which he says of it, that it must have been defective. Unfortunately in Ireland, at the time of his birth, there was no alternative between religious apostasy and partial ignorance. It was rendered penal by a special act of parliament for a Roman catholic “ to teach a school publicly or in a private house, or as usher to a protestant ;” all public schools were under the immediate superintendence of the protestant minister of the parish in which they were situated ; and by the statutes of the national university, it was

rendered impossible for a catholic to avail himself of the opportunities of education, professional or scientific, which that establishment was intended to bestow. At a period like the present, when these illiberal and impolitic regulations no longer exist, or are at least sinking into disuse and oblivion, it may appear unnecessary to dwell for a moment upon their effects. Their connection, however, with the state of society in Ireland, and the evil influence which for more than a century they shed over literature, the sciences, and politics, render them matters of public enquiry, and entitle them to developement and consideration.

The professed object of the legislative enactments against education in Ireland, was the extermination of the Roman catholic creed. The measures pursued for this purpose were to remove every medium through which a knowledge of that creed might be conveyed, and by compelling parents in humble life to send their children for instruction to schools attached to the established church, to insure their conversion to protestantism. To the accom-

plishment of this object the anxiety of the legislature and of the nation appeared for many years to be directed ; but in its pursuit the *end* only—the *means* never were attended to. Calumny and misrepresentation, aided generally by force, were the instruments most frequently made use of. Publications, in which truth, justice, and religion were sacrificed to the dictate of an envenomed and interested bigotry, were put into the hands of young children as sources of moral and religious instruction ; preservatives against popery, in which falsehood contended with absurdity for pre-eminence, were widely circulated amongst the people ; and the pulpit from which the mild virtues of christianity, mutual kindness, charity, and forbearance ought to have been preached, and where, if truth and justice had been banished from the earth besides, their influence ought to have been felt and inculcated, became a theatre for political declamation, and an instrument of incitement to religious persecution. To these fertile means was added the establishment of the charter schools. The horrible and revolting system pursued of

forcing away the children of the poor, and placing them in these schools, often gave rise to incestuous marriages, and always sent forth upon society a succession of beings held to it by no recognised tie of kindred, and imbued with the most false and degrading notions of the history, character, and principles of their catholic brethren. Except from such sources as these, the legislature admitted no means of acquiring the common elements of early education. In this crusade against the education of the catholics, the clergy were prominent to a degree, which it is now painful to think of; but their motives were not always dignified with the merit which their zeal appeared to claim, and the acknowledgment made by a prelate of much notoriety for his exertions in the foundation of the charter schools, justified, in some degree at least, this qualification of the principle which influenced their conduct.*

* “I assure you that the papists are here so numerous, that it highly concerns us, in *point of interest* as well as of concern for the salvation of these poor creatures, to try all possible means to bring them and theirs over to the knowledge of the true religion.”—*Boulter's Letters, May 5, 1730.*

The following extract from “the methods agreed upon by both houses of convocation for converting the papists of Ireland to the established church,” forms a pretty correct summary of the measures acted upon for nearly half a century, and will also fully justify the assertions which have been just made.

“Whereas by the good and wholesome laws and statutes of this realm, it is not only provided that there be no succession of popish priests, but also all persons of the communion of the church of Rome, are for ever made incapable of teaching in any school, or being tutors in private families, whereby great ignorance of moral and christian duties must ensue amongst the popish natives in the succeeding generations, if due care be not taken to prevent it.

“Resolved, That it will be necessary that, besides the schools already provided by law, such other school or schools as the bishop and ministers shall judge convenient be appointed in every parochial cure or union of this kingdom, where the children of such natives may be taught *gratis*

to speak and read the English language, and be instructed in the principles of the Christian religion.

“ And to the end that the charitable design of such schools may not be defeated by the obstinacy of popish recusants, and that in time the Irish language may be utterly abolished :

“ Resolved, That all popish natives of this kingdom, who are not possessed of some real or personal estate to the value of £50, or who do not hold by lease lands to the value of £10 per annum rent, be obliged, during four months of every year, to send their children, after they have attained to the age of seven years till they arrive at the age of twelve years, to such public schools, to be taught and instructed as aforesaid, under the penalty of ——— per month, to be levied by warrant from a justice of peace, and paid to the minister and churchwardens of the respective parishes, to be disposed of by them as they shall think fit for the better encouragement of the said school ; likewise, that all masters of the schools aforesaid be obliged to attend the minister of the parish, four

times in the year, at such times and places as the minister shall appoint, within the said parish, with the children committed to his care, to be publicly examined in the church catechism and the English language; at which times such children as have been already educated in the said schools shall also attend till they have passed the age of sixteen, if they continue in the parish.

“ That also this method of instructing the children of popish recusants may be rendered general :

“ Resolved, That all popish inhabitants of this kingdom, some who are not comprised in the above resolve, shall be obliged, during six months of every year, to send their children, after they have attained the age of seven years till they have attained the age of twelve years, to some protestant school under the penalty of _____ on the refractory person. And that it may not be in the power of any popish recusant to evade the force of the said law, that every popish recusant in this kingdom be obliged, in ten days after the baptizing of any child or children born to

him or in his house, to signify the name or names of such child or children, and the name of the person who baptized such child or children, to the curate of the parish, to be registered in the parish book; and whosoever neglects or refuses so to do, to forfeit the sum of — shillings, to be levied in the manner afore-mentioned, and distributed in the manner aforesaid.”*

* This extract is taken from a book, entitled, “A short history of the attempts that have been made to convert the popish natives of Ireland to the established religion, with a proposal for their conversion; and a vindication of archbishop Usher’s opinion concerning the performance of divine offices to them, in their own language: by John Richardson, rector of Annalt, alias Belturbet, in the diocese of Kilmore, in Ireland, and chaplain to his Grace the Duke of Ormond and the Lord Bishop of Clogher.” London, 1713.

Richardson appears to have been a man of perseverance in the design which he recommended. Whether his success in conversion was answerable to the zeal by which his efforts would seem to have been prompted is not apparent. — Not so the temporal blessings by which it was rewarded. A recommendation of the House of Commons to the Lord Lieutenant procured for him a gift of £200; and the exertions of Primate Boulter were, after some delay, successful in procuring for him a deanery. In the preface to the above-mentioned work, he says, “It is now the space of one hundred and sixty years since the protestant faith first appeared publicly in Ireland; and yet it hath made much smaller progress among

Notwithstanding the detail into which these measures descended, and the exactness with which they were enforced, catholic teachers found, in many parts of the country, protection and support. The clergy of that church, although incessantly employed in their missionary duties, and living in a state of the utmost insecurity as objects of continual pursuit, frequently became themselves the instructors of children, and generally patronised and encouraged schoolmasters. The influence of these limited sources could not, however,

the natives than could be wished, there being still, as it is generally believed, six papists at least to one protestant in that kingdom, although we have had many advantages which might help to facilitate this work; for we have scripture and reason at our side beyond all contradiction; we have loyal and peaceable principles to ingratiate our religion with the higher powers, and to induce them to promote it; and, some short interruptions excepted, we have had the examples of our monarchs and the legal establishments, with many other temporal advantages, to recommend it to the people, so that there must be some great impediment in this matter which ought to be taken away." This obstacle, according to Richardson, was the existence of popish priests in the country; and the remedy, on their expulsion, (which he loudly preached up), was to give the Irish people religious instructions in their native tongue.

extend far ; and, as it was found impossible to compel the great mass of the people to hand over their children for education to interested bigots, the majority of the peasantry grew up in a state of extreme ignorance and neglect. The sad effects of this evil continue to be felt even at this hour of comparative improvement ; and it is much to be feared that another generation must pass away before the country can exhibit the fruits of a more liberal system of government, and the benefits resulting from the early education of the people.

In his letter to an Irish peer, Mr. Burke alludes to these impolitic and destructive laws, in the following indignant terms :
“ Whilst the restraint of foreign and domestic education was part of an horrible and impious system of servitude, the members were fitted to the body. To render man patient under a privation of all the rights of human nature, every thing which could give him a knowledge of these rights was naturally forbidden. To render humanity fit to be insulted, it was fit that it should be degraded.” What, if under the

checks and restraints just described, Burke himself had been born of catholic parents? Is it improbable that even his great mind would have sunk in some degree under such discouragements; or, if buoyant by its native energies, instead of giving laws to empires, and wielding the thunders of his astonishing eloquence in the cause of humanity, might he not have dwindled into the village statesman or unambitious priest, and instead of enlightening a world, been compelled to rule in a hamlet? But to follow up a train of such probabilities would be to open a wide field for fancy, though a gloomy one for serious reflection. We shall therefore hurry forward to the subject of the memoir, trusting the interruption given by the foregoing hasty sketch will find ample apology in the interesting reflections to which it is calculated to give rise. One connection at least it possesses with the life of O'Leary—it serves to shew the difficulties with which he had to contend at the onset of his career, to “the hill where fame's proud temple shines afar.”

In the year 1747, after having acquired such share of classical literature as the

times just described would permit, O'Leary went to France, with the intention of devoting himself to the service of the catholic church ; his literary acquirements at that period could not have been very extensive. The English language formed no part of the preparatory studies for entrance into the colleges where candidates for the priesthood were then received ; and it consequently sometimes occurred, that persons were admitted to orders in those establishments, whose knowledge of that language was extremely limited. A striking instance of this was the late venerable and learned dean of Maynooth College, Doctor Ferris. Few of this gentleman's contemporaries were more intimately conversant with the elegant literature of France and Italy than he was ; the classical treasures of Greece and Rome were sources of delightful recreation to him ; and to the investigation of the various theological and scientific questions which engaged the attention of the learned world during his residence on the continent, no man brought a better combination of extensive learning, enlarged views of philosophy and religion, and profound thought,

than he did. In biblical criticism he excelled, and his high moral and religious character entitled him to the distinguished honour of being vice-general of the Lazarites, a respectable missionary congregation to which he belonged. His merits were recognized even in the capital of the christian world, and he enjoyed the friendship and regard of the Pope Clement XIV. (Ganginelli); yet notwithstanding all these high endowments and distinctions, he wrote and spoke the English language with great difficulty and reluctance.

To a reader unacquainted with the history of the country, these facts must appear strange and revolting; but to him who recollects the state of Ireland during the greater part of the last century, the cause must be obvious. Driven for education by unjust, tyrannical, and impolitic laws, from their native country, the catholic clergy were necessarily indebted to strangers for their literary and scientific acquirements. The language, the literature, the manners, and the character of those amongst whom the spring time of their lives was passed, had attractions which gained a permanency

from the gratitude that mingled with their remembrance ; and many of them had advanced into years before they returned to the obscurity and degradation to which they were condemned by their domestic tyrants. Not a few renounced home and kindred, the scenes of infancy and endearment, that they might enjoy liberty of conscience abroad, and have their merits recognised and rewarded by strangers ; whilst they who returned to their native country, were obliged to wear out their days amidst a peasantry ignorant through necessity, and degraded because of their ignorance.

A convent of Capuchin friars at St. Maloes in Brittany was the school where O'Leary imbibed the principles of the learning, virtue, and philanthropy, which, during a long life, formed the prominent traits in his character. After having made vows amongst these religious, and received holy orders, he continued to live in the monastery : not indulging in the sloth which ignorance thinks inseparable from a monastic life, but engaged with his brethren in the acquirement of knowledge, and in the exercise of the Christian duties of

charity and devotion. He was soon called to a life of more active beneficence, and one more suited on many accounts to his character and disposition.

In the course of the war between England and France, which commenced in 1756, many of the British soldiers who had been made prisoners were confined at St. Maloes; numbers of them were natives of Ireland, and for the greater part catholics. O'Leary was, with the approbation of his religious superior, appointed chaplain to the prisons; and the duties which in consequence devolved on him, were discharged with such humanity and attention as at an after period of his life called forth the gratitude and acknowledgments of some officers of rank who had experienced his kindness and friendship. The valour displayed by the Irish troops during the war, together with the attachment which the catholics were said to have for the family of James the Second (some members of which were then in France), led the minister (the Duc de Choiseul) to hope, that if means were adopted to induce them to join the French standard, the task would not be difficult,

nor the consequences unimportant. To insure success the chaplain was applied to for his co-operation. He indignantly spurned the proposal : “ I thought it ” says he, in his reply to Wesley, “ a crime to engage the King of England’s soldiers and sailors into the service of a catholic monarch against their protestant sovereign. I resisted the solicitation, and ran the risk of incurring the displeasure of a minister of state, and of losing my pension ; and my conduct was approved of by the divines of a monastery to which I then belonged, who unanimously declared, that in conscience I could not have acted otherwise.” This situation he continued in till the war was put an end to by the arrival of the Duke of Bedford in Paris in 1762.

Amongst other highly distinguished individuals whose intimacy he enjoyed at this time in France, may be reckoned Cardinal de Luynes Archbishop of Sens, who favoured him with many marks of confidence and esteem.

In the year 1771 he returned to Ireland, and became resident in the city of Cork. Shortly after his arrival there, he con-

tributed to the erection of a small chapel, in which he afterwards officiated, and which until lately was generally known in Cork as "Father O'Leary's chapel." Here he preached on the Sundays and principal festivals of the year to persons of different religious persuasions, who crowded it to excess when it was known that he was to appear in the pulpit; his sermons were chiefly remarkable for a happy train of strong moral reasoning, bold figure, and scriptural allusion. Religious controversy sometimes engaged him; but it was always more of a defensive than offensive nature. He was a lover of truth, and he sought to vindicate it from misrepresentation; a friend to charity and good-will, and he ever enforced their dictates. The kindness of his nature harmonized with the precepts of the gospel to make him tolerant of the errors and mistakes of his neighbour: the folly which he could not correct he pitied; and, if the flashes of his fervent imagination sometimes exposed to light the recesses of the dark and gloomy bigotry which he combated, the impulse was ever controlled by truth, and never yielded to, but as necessary for the defence,

and conducive to the interests, of Christianity.

Five years passed over O'Leary in these pursuits, without any incident of consequence occurring to disturb the peaceful tenor of his life. If he was unmolested in the discharge of his clerical duties, he was indebted for that circumstance more to the forbearance of the magistrates than to any relaxation of the laws against catholic priests, which existed at the time in full vigor. The dawn, however, of more enlightened times was then gradually opening upon Ireland ; and, as circumstances of a very trivial nature frequently give rise to lasting and important changes, a trifling occasion led his fellow-citizens to appreciate and esteem the virtues and abilities of the humble follower of St. Francis.

Some time in the year 1775, a book was published under the title of "Thoughts on Nature and Religion ;" which, along with much absurd scepticism, contained some very gross blasphemy. Its author, a Scottish physician of the name of Blair, residing in Cork, undertook to be the champion

of free-thinking in religion ; and, under the plausible pretext of vindicating the conduct of Servetus in his controversy with Calvin, this writer boldly attacked some of the most universally received articles of the Christian creed. The work attracted, as all such attempts will, some share of public attention. From the middle classes of society, by whom it was principally read, it soon found its way to readers even in the humblest walks of life ; and, despicable as the calumnies against Christianity were which it contained, they nevertheless found some advocates. A poetical effusion in verse, of no great merit, was addressed to Blair in reply ; and the minister of an anabaptist congregation entered the lists with a very miscellaneous, and nearly as sceptical a pamphlet as that which he professed to answer.

The persuasions of O'Leary's friends, who thought his style of controversy better fitted to silence the Doctor than that of either of the tried opponents, led him to undertake a reply ; but as, under the existing laws, a catholic clergyman was suffered rather than warranted to remain in the

kingdom, he thought it advisable to obtain some sanction to the undertaking before he sought notoriety in religious controversy. *

* The controversial writers in Ireland, during the eighteenth century, were few; for as persecution was the inevitable consequence of notoriety, it was no easy matter to find a controvertist hardy enough to risk his safety by rendering himself conspicuous. Perhaps the only instances, from the revolution to the year 1770, wherein professed catholic writers were heard with patience, appear in the indulgence shown to the Rev. *Cornelius Nary* and the Rev. *Timothy O'Brien*.

Cornelius Nary was born at Naas, in the county of Kildare, in the year 1660. He was educated at the university of Paris; and his acquirements in languages, science, and theological learning were looked upon by his contemporaries as very considerable. After his return to Ireland he resided principally in Dublin, and was at the time of his death, which took place in 1738, parish priest of Mary's-lane chapel, in that city, and archdeacon of the metropolis. He enjoyed the friendship and intimacy of Dean Swift, to whom he was assimilated for various learning, ready wit, and high conversational talents. He lived for some time in the family of a catholic peeress, Lady Clanbrazil, aunt to Lord Bellew (a title now extinct); and in the year 1707 he underwent an examination of some length before a committee of the Irish House of Commons, on the validity of some deeds regarding property, which was litigated between the catholic aunt and the apostate nephew. In 1719, he published, in one volume, 8vo., an English translation of the New Testament, from the Greek. It is very respectably executed, and has deserved the notice of some of the most distinguished biblical critics of the

To this end he waited on Doctor Mann, the protestant bishop of the diocese, for his permission to enter the lists. O'Leary

present day. He gave to the press in the following year (1720), a work published by subscription, entitled, "A new history of the world, from the Creation to the birth of Christ." The chronology of this book is arranged agreeably to the Septuagint translation of the Bible, which Nary undertakes to prove to be that of the ancient Hebrew scriptures. The work he declares to be written, not so much for the conveyance of historical knowledge, as "to silence the cavils of modern libertines, deists, atheists, and pre-adamites, who, grounding their arguments on the present Hebrew text, make the kings of the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Egyptian monarchies to have reigned some hundreds of years before the deluge." The arguments by which he supports his preference of the Septuagint computation are ably and ingeniously put forward, and reflect high credit on his learning and research. He also about this time printed a short history of Ireland, the copies of which are now very scarce.

These productions of Nary's pen prove him to have been a very general and profound scholar; but it is to his controversial writings that he is principally indebted for his celebrity. On this dangerous, and, in general, hard contested field, he encountered no mean adversary. His opponent was Doctor Synge, the protestant archbishop of Tuam. The dispute had its rise from the misrepresentation and specious reasoning contained in what was entitled by the prelate, "A Charitable address to the Roman catholics of Ireland." This book Nary answered in a printed letter. The archbishop replied—Nary re-

introduced himself at the episcopal palace ; and the interview is said to have been humorous in the extreme. A coarse, un-

joined ; and the subject, after having been agitated for some time with becoming temper, was suffered to die away, each party, as usual, claiming the palm of victory. Nary was, after some time, so convinced of the superiority of his side of the question, that he collected his tracts into an 8vo. volume, which was printed at Dublin, in 1727. His Grace of Tuam, manifesting more good sense in the conclusion than in the provocation of the contest, permitted his share in the dispute to lie in oblivion, without making one effort towards its resuscitation.

That Doctor Nary did not always exercise his ecclesiastical functions with impunity, appears from a proclamation issued by the Lords Justices of Ireland, dated September 20th 1712, for “ the apprehension of Doctor Nary, Doctor Byrne, and John Burke, popish priests, who presumed to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction contrary to the laws of the kingdom.”

Timothy O'Brien was a native of the county of Cork. In 1691 he went to the Irish college at Toulouse, where, at the termination of his studies, he took the degree of doctor in divinity. He was afterwards, for nine years, superior of that seminary. In 1715 he returned to Ireland, and became parish priest of Castlelyons, in the then united dioceses of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross.

Amongst other theological tracts, Doctor O'Brien published, in 1725, “ An explication of the Jubilee, in two parts.” His principal works were on religious controversy. His first essay in this troubled scene was a reply to “ The truly catholic and old Religion ;” by the

couth figure, joined to an originality of manner in which the graces had no share, sterling wit, and an imagination which gave a colour to every object on which it

Rev. Rowland Davies, the protestant dean of Cork. It gave rise to a controversy of some continuance, in which O'Brien was generally considered the victor. A more lengthened and certainly a more interesting discussion took its origin from the publication of a work by O'Brien, entitled, "A brief, historical, and authentic Account of the beginning and doctrine of the sects called the Vaudois and Albigeois," printed at Cork in 1743. This was a hardy and artful attack on protestantism; and as it excited to a very high degree the attention of the public, it was replied to by Doctor Robert Clayton, the bishop of Cork. The dispute was warmly carried on through four or five publications, until the year 1745, when it was given up. In the progress of the controversy, the bishop more than once hinted very distinctly at a means of closing the discussion not very creditable to his patience or toleration. O'Brien remained nevertheless unmolested till his death, which took place in 1747. During his life-time he was highly respected; and appears, from some letters of his to Doctor M'Carthy, *Rabagh*, the catholic bishop of Cork, which are printed in the Journals of the Irish House of Commons, to have had a large share in the administration of the three dioceses, Cork, Cloyne, and Ross, as they were then governed by one bishop. The present division took place at Doctor M'Carthy, Rabagh's death, about the year 1750.

The following are the titles of the controversial tracts of Doctor O'Brien and the Bishop of Cork:—"A brief historical account of the beginning and doctrine of the

played, rendered the friar a visitor of no common kind ; and, as the bishop was himself not cast in the mould of “ handsome orthodoxy,” the meeting was long remem-

sects called Vaudois and Albigeois,” by T. B. “ The Bishop of Cork’s pastoral letter to the clergy and laity of the two dioceses of Cork and Ross.” “ The Bishop of Cork’s pastoral letter answered,” by T. B. “ A reply to a pamphlet, entitled, the Bishop of Cork’s pastoral letter answered, &c.” “ A rejoinder to the reply made to the answer of the Bishop of Cork’s pastoral,” by T. B. “ A replication to the rejoinder ; being a state of the case, together with a history of popery, containing an account of its rise, progress, and decay.” (This piece was said to have been the joint production of the Bishop and some of the most learned fellows of the Dublin university). “ Truth triumphant in the defeat of a book, entitled A replication to the rejoinder, &c.” by T. B. “ Remarks on a pamphlet entitled, Truth triumphant, &c.” Some of the Bishop’s pamphlets were printed in Dublin, more in Cork ; but to those of O’Brien no printer’s name appears, as the printers of catholic books were as liable to the penalties of the laws as the writers.

The Rev. Rowland Davies, the early antagonist of Doctor O’Brien, followed the fortunes of William the Third to Ireland, by whom he was presented to the deanery of Cork. A manuscript in his hand-writing, now in my possession, proves him to have been credulous enough to indulge in the mystic dreams of astrology. A series of astrological observations are in it, arranged with the coincident circumstances of his life, from which he attempts to justify his predilection for this absurd though fascinating pursuit.

bered by both parties. After some explanation, Doctor Mann gave his consent to the undertaking; in consequence of which the public were soon gratified by the appearance of a series of letters from O'Leary addressed to Blair. From the style in which he composed them, they were fitted for every class of readers; and seldom, on a like occasion, did a writer obtain an easier or higher triumph.

A bold and nervous eloquence, glowing with the effusions of an imagination, which, without the most distant personal offence, exhibited in an extremely ludicrous point of view the absurdities and errors of his opponent, distinguished this production. The controversy was soon over; but the letters, afterwards corrected and abridged by the author, are still read with interest and gratification.

Once before the public as an author, the active mind of O'Leary soon led him to exert in a more enlarged sphere the powers as a writer, of which he now became conscious. His next publication was about the year 1777; "Loyalty asserted; or the test oath vindicated and

proved by the principles of the canon and civil laws, and the authority of the most eminent writers ; with an inquiry into the Pope's deposing power, and the groundless claims of the Stuarts ; in a letter to a protestant gentleman." This tract took its rise from the state of the catholics at the moment ; and is, perhaps, one of the ablest of the productions of O'Leary's pen. But to enable the reader to determine its value and importance, it will be requisite that we glance back once more at the condition of the Irish catholics during the greater part of the eighteenth century. This sketch will be found to possess interest in another point of view ; as it will contain an outline of the penal laws against the catholics, and detail likewise the origin and history of the oath of allegiance, which they are now required to take.

The condition of the Irish catholics, from the period of the religious innovations which distinguished the sixteenth century, and which, by the distractions to which they gave rise, shook every throne in Europe, and deluged some of its fairest states in the blood of contending sectaries, was, down

to the reign of the late benevolent King George the Third, truly lamentable. The introduction of the new creed into Ireland was attended with circumstances, the effects of which have unfortunately been hereditary. At that inauspicious period the national denomination of Irish and English, which had long served to distinguish the native inhabitants of the island, and their successful invaders, was lost in the more odious appellations of *papist* and *protestant*; and the cruelties and injustices mutually perpetrated before, under the plea of political security, were thenceforward sheltered under the much insulted name of religious zeal. From this, as from a fountain of bitterness, have flowed many of the evils and horrors which disgrace the annals of the country. As, however, the portion of Irish history connected with the present memoir does not call for an exposure of the humiliating spectacle which the efforts to introduce the protestant creed into Ireland exhibited, we shall commence the sketch that will suffice for our purpose at the memorable era of the revolution.

The expulsion of James the Second from

the British throne, was to the Irish catholics an event fraught with evil. By the toleration extended to all his subjects of whatever religious persuasion by him, he had broken down the spirit of tyranny and exclusive political power, which for a long time was exercised by the protestant party in Ireland. From a people of fervent feeling and unbounded gratitude, even the restoration of a right calls forth an enthusiastic return. Hence, when forced by necessity to make his last effort, James came to Ireland, his reception was such as under circumstances like his was to be expected. Unacquainted with the refinements of political science, the Irish knew little, and cared less, about the distinctions of "a king de jure," and "a king de facto:" of "the social compact" and the "sovereignty of the people," they were equally ignorant; and thrust out of an hereditary throne by the ingratitude of false friends, and the unnatural ambition of his daughter and son-in-law, the persecuted monarch found a welcome of the most ardent kind from his Irish subjects. His misfortunes and his religion, perhaps, heightened the

colour of their loyalty; but the Stuarts were a devoted family, and the son of Charles and the descendant of Mary Queen of Scots was destined to close the line of their monarchy in defeat and exile. At the Boyne, James shewed himself to be a coward, and deserted his enthusiastic followers. His flight did not seem to weaken their loyalty, and up to the capitulation of Limerick, the Irish soldiery exhibited a firmness, valour, and devotedness that under like circumstances have seldom been equalled. The articles of capitulation agreed upon at the surrender of that important fortress, promised peace to the besiegers, and toleration, justice, and immunity to the brave people whom they pretended to conciliate.

That these happy effects would have speedily followed the conscientious fulfilment of the treaty of Limerick, cannot reasonably be doubted. Tired of civil bloodshed, and the gloomy vicissitude of oppression and retaliation, the nation, though in some degree divided, as must necessarily be the case after nearly five centuries of desultory warfare, would have

readily grasped at even the shadow of peace. Add to this, that the pusillanimity of James had much weakened the popular regard towards him ; and in the enjoyment of religious toleration, and in the participation of the civil power to which they were promised admittance, the catholics would soon have forgotten the hereditary claim to the throne as well as the religion which distinguished the exiled monarch from his unamiable though valorous successor. But the policy of the English ministry, and the interests of a bigotted and monopolizing aristocracy in Ireland, forbade the fulfilment of the articles of that treaty. The conquest of Ireland was never complete till the era of the revolution. Hence England enjoyed at that time a triumph, the attainment of which had cost her much blood and treasure. The happiness of the Irish, and their union would lead, it was feared, to notions of independence contradictory to the designs of the rulers on the other side of the channel. Division was therefore necessary to insure rule ; and the pretext of religious difference was an unchangeable and inflexible prin-

ciple of discordance. The men who were made use of to effect this abominable purpose, came to their task with all their bad passions excited, and smarting under, what they considered, the persecutions inflicted on them by James and his adherents. The justice, perhaps in some instances the partiality, of that weak monarch, in selecting some of his favourites from the catholics, and his having raised that body to equality of privilege with his other subjects, were termed by the revolutionary party a persecution. Who amidst the tumult of political, much more of religious contests, can keep his mind untinged with the colour of the reigning prejudices? The catholics, when raised from a state of mean bondage and degradation to power and consequence, shewed perhaps that undeserved cruelty had not extinguished in their breasts the passions of human nature. To say that they abused the share of power which had been intrusted to them, would be to contradict the truth of history; in no instance did they violate the dictates of the severest justice. The restoration of a few churches to their ancient proprietors, from whom

they had shortly before been wrested, the recognition of the catholic clergy in the face of their former persecutors, and an equal administration of the laws to catholics and protestants indiscriminately, were some of the instances selected by the revolutionists as grounds of retaliation. The two first of these charges are strenuously denied, and with much force and reason, by the advocates of the catholics; but whatever ground there existed for urging them, they were termed persecutions, and as such, on the accession of the friends of the revolution to power, they were bitterly avenged. In the retaliation, however, no measure was observed, and what followed was justly described by Mr. Grattan as “to the catholics a sad servitude—to the protestants a drunken triumph.”

There were other causes in addition to these which, although not apparently so general, had nevertheless very powerful influence in originating the penal laws against the catholics. The immediate descendants of the catholics who had been stripped of their properties under the Charles's and Cromwell, were alive and known; and the decisions of the court of claims under which

their rights were said to have been determined, were arraigned by the general voice of the people as tyrannical and unjust. In other and more recent instances, the ancient proprietors of the soil had been driven from their homes by the revolutionary adventurers; and as it was feared, that if truth could obtain a hearing, justice might decide, every means by which the rightful claimants could be debarred from appeal or attention, was anxiously adopted and acted upon. Thus, exclusive political power, and the security of doubtfully acquired property, and not zeal for the cause of true religion, formed, in a great degree, the principle of hostility to the catholics.

Fanaticism, to be sure, had its share in the work of persecution. The total extermination of catholicity in Ireland, was said to be a measure highly meritorious in the sight of heaven, and one not very difficult of accomplishment. This motive secured to the cause of the enemies of the catholics, numbers of persons who were not otherwise interested in promoting persecution, and who were the more zealous in their efforts, from the consciousness which they

had of the apparent purity and disinterestedness of the incitement to which they yielded. Such revealings of human infirmity are painful and humiliating ; but their exposure is valuable to the cause of truth ; and justice requires, that the mild spirit of christianity should not be rendered accountable to the unbeliever, for the cruelties and the follies of a cold and merciless fanaticism. In the enactment of the penal laws, this motive of religious zeal had no small share of effect ; and in their history a contest for pre-eminence in the race of intolerance, will be found to obtain between the unholy zeal of one party, and the political sagacity of the other.

We come now to the penal laws themselves, and in the very imperfect outline of them which shall be presented to the reader, it will be clearly perceived, that no exaggeration could add to their ferocity, nor could any terms of indignation sufficiently depict their opposition to good government, national prosperity, domestic happiness, and the mild spirit, as well as the plainest dictates of the christian religion.

From the report of a committee of the

House of Commons, appointed in 1697 to consider what penal laws were in force against the catholics, we learn that the following acts had effect at the period of the revolution.

An act against the authority of the see of Rome, by which, if any persons attribute any jurisdiction to the see of Rome, they shall be subject to a *præmunire* *, and all

* The punishment of *præmunire* is thus summed up by Sir Edward Coke, (1st Institutes):—"That from the conviction, the defendant shall be out of the king's protection, and his lands and tenements, goods and chattels forfeited to the king; and that his body shall remain in prison at the king's pleasure, or (as other authorities have it) during life." So odious, Sir Edward Coke adds, was this offence of *præmunire*, that a man that was attainted of the same, might have been slain by any other man without danger of law; because it was provided by law that any man might do to him as to the king's enemy; and any man may lawfully kill an enemy. To obviate this last notion, the statute, 5th Eliz. c. 1., provides that it shall not be lawful to kill any person attainted in *præmunire*, any law, &c. to the contrary notwithstanding. But still such delinquent, though protected as a part of the public from public wrongs, can bring no action for any private injury, how atrocious soever; being so far out of the protection of the law, that it will not guard his civil rights, nor remedy any grievance which he, as an individual, may suffer. And no man, knowing him to be guilty, can with safety give him comfort, aid, or relief."—*Blackstone*, b. 4. c. 8.

who have any office from the king, or who take degrees in the university, shall take the oath of supremacy. An act restoring to the crown its ancient jurisdiction over the state, ecclesiastical and spiritual : it likewise enacts, that every person entering into office shall take the oath of supremacy. An act for the uniformity of public prayer requires that every person having no lawful excuse to be absent, shall every Sunday resort to some place of worship of the established church, or forfeit 12*d*. An act by which the chancellor may appoint a guardian to the child of a catholic. An act by which no catholic schoolmaster can teach in a private house without license from the ordinary of the diocese, and taking the oath of supremacy. By what were called the new rules, no person could be admitted into any corporation without taking the oath of supremacy. It need scarcely be noticed here, that the oath of supremacy above-mentioned was an abjuration of the spiritual authority of the church, and a recognition of it in the temporal ruler, which no catholic, consistently with his belief, could take.

These acts were enforced with an exactness which found its excuse only in the anxiety of the magistrates to manifest their hatred of jacobitism by their severity against the catholics. As soon, however, as the Irish parliament under William met, their ingenuity was exerted to render their zeal against popery more effective, and their disregard of justice more apparent.

By the 7th of William III., chapters 4 & 5, it was declared in the preamble, that by means of popish schoolmasters, many of the natives continue ignorant of the principles of true religion, and they are a cause of their not using the *English language, to the great prejudice of the public weal.*

By these acts the means of educating their children at home, or sending them to foreign countries for that purpose, are taken away from the catholics, and they are moreover debarred the right of being guardians to their own or any other person's children.

By the act 7th William III., chap. 5. the privilege of carrying or having arms in their possession, was taken away from the

catholics. The manufacturers of fire arms were debarred under heavy penalties from taking catholic apprentices, and the following is a clause introduced into the act :
“ Be it further enacted, that no papist shall be capable to have or keep in his possession, or in the possession of another person for his use, or at his disposition, any horse, gelding, or mare, of the value of £5 or more ;” any protestant making discovery to a magistrate, and offering or depositing with the magistrate £5 5s. shall become owner of such horse, gelding, or mare ; and if the papist owner conceal such horse, &c. he shall forfeit three times the value. If a magistrate refused to enforce this law when applied to, he subjected himself to a fine of £50, and was disabled from acting as a magistrate in future.

By the 7th & 9th William III., chap. 25. &c. “ all popish archbishops, bishops, vicars general, deans, jesuits, monks, friars, and all other regular popish clergy, and all papists exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, shall depart this kingdom (Ireland) before the first of May 1698. And if any of them shall be at any time after the said day

within this kingdom, they shall be imprisoned, and remain there without bail till they be transported beyond the seas out of the king's dominions. And if any so transported shall return again into the kingdom, these to be guilty of high treason, and to suffer accordingly." And from the 29th December 1697, no popish archbishop, &c. shall come into this kingdom from any parts beyond the seas, on pain of twelve months imprisonment, and then to be transported in manner aforesaid; and if after such transportation any of them return again into the kingdom, they shall be guilty of high treason, and suffer accordingly." By these acts, any persons concealing or entertaining such archbishops, &c. &c. forfeited for the first offence £20, for the second double the sum, and for the third all his lands and tenements of freehold or inheritance during his life; and also all his goods and chattels; one moiety not exceeding £100 to the informer, and the surplusage to the king.

On the 1st December 1697, the Commons resolved, that "that part of the act 2 Eliz, c. 2. which obliges every person not having

a lawful excuse to be absent, to resort every Sunday to church, and there abide during the time of common prayer, preaching, and other service of God, to be there ministered, under pain of forfeiting for every neglect twelve-pence, ought to be put in execution."

By the 9th William III., chap. 3. it was enacted, that if a protestant woman, having an estate or interest in lands, or £500 personal estate, shall marry without first having had a certificate signed by the minister of the parish, the bishop of the diocese, and a justice of peace, or any of them, that the person to whom she is to be married is a known protestant, she is rendered incapable to hold such estate or interest, or personal property; and said estate, &c. shall go to the next in kin, being a protestant, to whom it would have descended if all the intermediate catholic heirs were dead, and both she and her husband are rendered incapable of being executors or administrators, or guardians to any protestant whatever. With the genuine spirit of malignant injustice, the effects of this act are rendered retrospective, and all protestant women

who at the time of its enactment were married to catholics, came under its operation. By an act passed at this time likewise, catholics were prevented from being solicitors ; and in an act for the better preservation of game, a clause was introduced prohibiting them from being employed as gamekeepers.

By the 2d Anne, c. 6. the converting a protestant to *popery* subjects both the convert and his instructor to *præmunire* ; by the 3d ch. of the same, the child of a papist, on his becoming a protestant, can, by filing a bill in chancery, compel his father to provide him with a suitable maintenance and portion. It was likewise then enacted, that no papist could take a house in the towns of Limerick or Galway ; seamen, fishermen, and labourers in the suburbs excepted.

On the 4th of March 1704, the royal assent was given to “ a bill to prevent the further growth of popery.” The following are amongst the clauses of this *ferocious* act, as it is termed by Mr. Burke. A catholic father, possessed of any hereditary or acquired property, is debarred the right in

case one of his sons become a protestant, to sell or mortgage, or otherwise dispose of it, or to leave out of it any portions or legacies; he is prevented, under a penalty of £500, from being guardian to, or having the custody of, his own children; but if the child, however young, pretend to be a protestant, it is to be taken from the father and put into the hands of a protestant relation. No protestant shall marry a papist having an estate either in, or out of the kingdom. Papists are rendered incapable of purchasing any manors, tenements, hereditaments, or any rents or profit arising out of the same, or of holding any lease of lives, or any other lease whatever, for any term exceeding thirty-one years. Even under this latter restriction, if a farm produced a profit greater than one-third of the amount of the rent, the right in it was immediately to cease, and to pass over entirely to the first protestant who should discover the rate of profit. Papists are deprived of such inheritance, devise, gift, remainder, or trust of any lands, &c. of which any protestant was or should be seised in fee-simple absolute, or fee-tail,

which, by the death of such protestant or his wife, ought to have descended to his son or other issue in tail, being papists ; they are to descend to the nearest protestant relation, as if the popish heir and other popish relations were dead. The estate of a papist, for want of a protestant heir, is to be divided share and share alike amongst all his sons ; in default of sons, amongst all his daughters, and for want of daughters, amongst the collateral kindred of the father. No person shall vote at elections without taking the oath of allegiance and abjuration. By the subsequent acts, catholics were excluded from voting at vestries, acting as sheriffs or under-sheriffs, grand jurors, magistrates, or even constables, and sitting in parliament.

In 1709 another act passed, which, among other severities had the following :—Papists were rendered incapable of taking any annuity for life ; and “ it was further enacted, that where and as often as any child or children of any popish parent or parents hath or have heretofore professed him, her, or themselves to be of the protestant religion as by law established, and enrolled

in the high court of chancery, a certificate of the bishop of the diocese, testifying that he, she, or they being protestant, and conforming to the church of Ireland, it shall and may be lawful for the high court of chancery, upon a bill founded on this act, to oblige the said popish parent or parents to discover upon oath the full value of all his, her, or their estate, as well personal as real, before the enrolment of such certificate, and thereupon to make such order for the support and maintenance of such protestant child or children by the distribution of the said real and personal estate to and among the said protestant child or children for their present support; and also to and for the portion and future maintenance of such protestant child or children, as said court shall judge fit.” All converts in public employments, members of parliament, barristers, attornies, &c. shall educate their children protestants: the wife of a papist, if she conform, shall have such provision not exceeding the power of her husband to make a jointure as the chancellor shall adjudge: a papist schoolmaster or usher, shall be prosecuted

as a popish regular convict : popish priests converted shall have £30 per annum to be paid by grand juries : informers against popish archbishop, bishop, or vicar general, shall receive £50 reward *, for each priest £20, and for each schoolmaster or usher £10, to be levied on the popish inhabitants : (see Appendix A.) : two justices may summon any papist of eighteen years of age, and if he refuse to inform where he heard mass celebrated, and who and what persons were present, and likewise of the residence of any priest or popish schoolmaster, may

* In the year 1743, a proclamation was issued by the Privy Council of Ireland, for the detection of catholic priests ; by which, in addition to the rewards issued by act of parliament, the following were held forth to informers :—For the conviction of an archbishop, bishop, or vicar general, the sum of £150 ; for every priest or other person exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, £50 ; for any person having property to a certain amount, and entertaining, concealing, or relieving a priest, £200. The following are the signatures to this proclamation :—John Hoadly, archbishop of Armagh ; Lord Newport, chancellor ; Charles Cobbe, archbishop, Dublin ; Lords Besborough, Molesworth, Boyne, Kinsale, Southwell ; the Bishop of Meath (Price) ; the Speaker of the House of Commons, Henry Boyle, (afterwards Lord Shannon) ; Judges Marly, Carter, Singleton, Bowes, and the vice treasurer, Luke Gardiner. The proclamation is translated in Burke's *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 717.

commit him to gaol without bail for twelve months, or impose a fine of £20. Any protestant may file a bill in chancery against any person concerned in any sale, lease, or mortgage, or incumbrance in trust for papists, to compel him to discover the same; and all issues to be tried in cases founded on this act, shall be tried by none except known protestants.

By the act of 6th George I., chap. 3 & 4, levies by presentment shall be made on the Papists of the county, of 20s. per day for the refreshment of each troop of militia while drawn out. *

* In the debate on the catholic bill of 1782, Mr. Bushe expressed a desire that a clause should be inserted in the bill, easing the catholics of a most oppressive law. The following circumstance resulting from this law occurred to his own knowledge. By a statute, the catholics were compelled to make good the depredations committed by robbers in the county where they resided. A number of villains, under the denomination of White-boys, assembled some time since, in the county of Kilkenny, and did considerable mischief. The grand jury, from the affidavits of the sufferers, granted a presentment accordingly. A short time afterwards one of the offenders was apprehended, who proved to be a protestant, and was executed for the offence. Mr. Bushe stated that no other proof was required by this iniquitous act to obtain a presentment against the Roman catholic in-

By the 12th George I. ch. 3. it is made felony without benefit of clergy for a popish priest to marry a protestant to a papist; and by the 19th George II. ch. 13., the marriage by a popish priest of a papist to a person who was a protestant within twelve months, is declared null and void, and the priest subject to the penalties of the former law. (The party having been seen in church within twelve months has been deemed evidence sufficient of their protestantism.)

By the 7th George II. chap. 5. any barrister, attorney, or solicitor, by marrying a papist, is disqualified from following his profession; and by 13th George II. ch. 16., any protestant educating his child under the age of 14 years a papist, is deemed a papist, and subject to all the laws against papists.

habitants, than to swear that the plunderers spoke with an Irish accent. Another member mentioned a gentleman in his neighbourhood, which was 30 miles from the place where an offence of a like nature as that stated by Mr. B. was perpetrated, on whom the amount of the loss was levied, by virtue of an execution taken out of the crown office; and this person and his family were beggars about the country ever after.

It remained only to have a civil existence denied to the catholics ; and, therefore, in the year 1759, a catholic gentleman was assured from the bench “ that the laws did not presume a papist to exist in the kingdom ; nor could they breathe without the connivance of government.”*

Such is an outline, imperfect certainly, of the penal code against the catholics of Ireland, as it existed during the greater part of the eighteenth century ; and enough of it still remains to degrade that body, and to distract the country. That the penal code was not a dead letter is known to every reader of Irish history ; for it unfortunately was devised with a malicious ingenuity. It was a self-working machine of destruction ; and when directed to its ends by fanaticism and policy, the inroads which it made upon the best and genuine feelings of human nature, and its paralyzing effects on national prosperity and industry, were truly lamentable. Perhaps its most fatal and revolting consequences were those which regarded domestic and individual

* Vide Mr. Plowden's Historical Review, p. 322. vol. 1.

quiet. It placed the foundation of deadly enmity between father and son, between wife and husband, between the brethren of the same family. It held out rewards to the most heartless species of treachery. There was no tie of kindred that it did not weaken—no source of domestic bliss that it did not poison. From the sanctuary of religion to the cradle of infancy, every gradation of society, every rank of life, every step and degree were beset with motives of interested baseness and villany; and the instances where they had effect were too frequent and disastrous not to fill the mind with suspicion, anxiety, and alarm. Unsupportable as these grievances were, and unsettled as the state of society was which they produced, the victims on whom they pressed dared not complain. Murmur was construed into the bodings of rebellion; and lurking treason was detected in the silence of despondency. This was a state of things not to be endured; nor indeed could it long have continued. It was fitted only for the men who had produced it; and the succeeding generation, more enlightened and less revengeful, alle-

viated the wrongs which had been committed, and, in some degree, sought to atone for the inhuman and disgraceful system pursued by their fathers.

The last act against the catholics which has been noticed in the foregoing short sketch was passed in the 13th George II., 1740; and although no legal recognition of them, other than as objects of persecution, took place till 1770, still on the accession of the late benevolent monarch George the Third, they were cheered with the prospect of brighter days. The way to be sure had been smoothed for them. A milder tone had been adopted towards them in the last years of George the Second's reign: their addresses of congratulation and their professions of loyalty had been graciously received; and the wealth which many of them, in consequence of their inability to purchase or retain landed property, had acquired in the sure and silent progress of mercantile speculation, gave them a weight, consideration, and influence of a very extensive nature. The first gleams of legislative favor which they experienced was by the passing of the

act in 1774, whereby they were admitted to certify their allegiance to the king.

That act is said to have originated from the following occurrence. The celebrated Earl of Bristol, Bishop of Derry, whilst at dinner one day with the professors in one of the Irish colleges in France *, feelingly lamented the hard necessity, which his learned and amiable countrymen were under, of spending in foreign countries the most valuable portion of their lives ; “ still he could not see,” he added, “ why they refused to their native sovereign that allegiance and fidelity which distinguished their conduct towards the continental monarchs, in whose dominions the Irish colleges were situated. For his part, he wished the catholics to enjoy freedom of conscience ; but until they were found to renounce the opinions generally entertained by them, — opinions which militated against the lives of those whom they termed heretics, the safety of the throne, and the obligations of an oath — he could not so far forget what he owed to the peace and se-

* Toulouse.

curity of the country, as to shew them any countenance there." This declaration gave rise to a conversation of some length ; in the course of which, the noble guest learned the willingness of the catholics, as stated to him, to afford every proof of temporal allegiance that could be required from subjects ; and, moreover, their hearty abhorrence of the opinions imputed to them of holding no faith with heretics, and of being prepared, at every intimation from their religious superiors, to trample upon the awful obligations of an oath. These statements were, on his return home, circulated by his lordship amongst his political friends ; and, as the catholics were gradually growing on the good-will of some members of the administration, the subject was very generally and freely canvassed. The late venerable Lord Taaffe, Charles O'Connor (a man whose name will ever be dear to Ireland), Doctor Curry, Mr. Wise of Waterford, Mr. R. Dermott, and some other gentlemen who acted as a committee for the catholic body, after consulting with the catholic archbishop of Dublin, drew up the form of an oath,

which they professed their willingness and anxiety to take, as an evidence of their loyalty, and of the undivided temporal allegiance which they acknowledge to be due to the monarch. After some consideration on the subject, leave was given in the House of Commons, on the 5th March 1774, to bring in the heads of a bill “to enable his majesty’s subjects, of whatever persuasion, to testify their allegiance to him ;” and it was at the same time resolved, “that Mr. Robert French and Sir Lucius O’Brien do prepare the same.”

These gentlemen, on the 15th of March, reported the heads of a bill agreeably to the leave given ; and it received the royal assent on the 2d of June following. The oath, as given in the act of parliament, is as follows :

“ I A. B. do take Almighty God and his only son Jesus Christ my redeemer, to witness, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to our most gracious sovereign Lord George the Third, and him will defend to the utmost of my power against all conspiracies and attempts whatever that shall be made against his person, crown,

and dignity; and I will do my utmost endeavour to disclose and make known to his majesty and his heirs all treasons and traiterous conspiracies which may be formed against him or them; and I do faithfully promise to maintain, support, and defend to the utmost of my power the succession of the crown in his majesty's family, against any person or persons whatever; hereby utterly renouncing and abjuring any obedience or allegiance unto the person taking upon himself the style and title of Prince of Wales in the life-time of his father, and who, since his death, is said to have assumed the style and title of King of Great Britain and Ireland, by the name of Charles the Third, and to any other person claiming or pretending a right to the crown of these realms: and I do swear, that I do reject and detest as unchristian and impious, to believe that it is lawful to murder or destroy any person or persons whatsoever, for or under pretence of their being heretics; and also that unchristian and impious principle, that no faith is to be kept with heretics: I further declare, that it is no article of my faith, and that I do renounce, reject,

and abjure the opinion, that princes excommunicated by the pope and council, or by any authority of the see of Rome, or by any authority whatsoever, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or by any person whatever ; and I do promise, that I will not hold, maintain, or abet any such opinion, or any other opinion contrary to what is expressed in this declaration : and I do declare, that I do not believe that the pope of Rome, or any other foreign prince, prelate, state, or potentate, hath or ought to have any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm ; and I do solemnly, in the presence of God, and of his only son Jesus Christ my redeemer, profess, testify, and declare, that I do make this declaration in the plain and ordinary sense of the words, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatever, and without any dispensation already granted by the pope, or any authority of the see of Rome, or any person whatever, and without thinking that I am or can be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration, or any part thereof, although the pope or any

other person or persons or authority whatsoever, shall dispense with or annul the same, or declare that it was null and void from the beginning. So help me God."

However favorable this opportunity appeared for a gradual opening of the way for the catholics to the further attentions of parliament, obstacles of a nature that could not well have been foreseen, somewhat retarded the designs of the framers of the oath. The name, occupation, or profession, and place of residence of the catholics who testified their allegiance, were required by the law to be recorded in the sessions court of each town or county; and to be by the presiding magistrates transmitted forthwith to Dublin. The clergy were still objects of legal hatred; and the laws against them existed in all their native and unmitigated severity. A difficulty was therefore started how far it was safe for them, anxious as they were to manifest their allegiance, to take the oath under these circumstances. The magistrate, by the acknowledgment of their profession and place of abode, acquired a legal cognizance of their existence in the country; and he was required, as well by various

acts as by frequent resolutions of the houses of parliament, to carry the laws against priests into immediate effect. With some reason, therefore, was reference had to the government on the subject; by whose explanation these fears were quieted, and vast numbers of the clergy and people freely took the oath.

As soon as these fears were put to rest, obstacles of a more serious nature, and which were not so easily overcome, began to manifest themselves in another quarter. The test oath had, before its adoption in parliament, been assented to by the catholic committee in Dublin; there appeared in its detail nothing except what related to the temporal allegiance, which subjects owe to their constituted rulers in every state; and in the parts where it in any way alluded to spiritual matters, it was as guarded as the most scrupulous theologian could require. Notwithstanding all this, to the friends of toleration it appeared unaccountable, that tardiness and hesitation in taking the oath marked the conduct of many catholics, who before the passing of the act of parliament, were apparently sanguine in their support

of the measure. Those among the catholics who kept back from taking the test, stated as their reason for so doing, certain theological objections against clauses in the oath, which had been pointed out to them by some respectable friars, and the public condemnation of a former oath of exactly a like nature, by the Right Rev. Doctor Burke, in his book entitled "*Hibernia Dominicana.*"

Doctor Thomas Burke, catholic bishop of Ossory, whose name is thus introduced, was a native of Dublin, which city he left at an early age, and when but sixteen years old made vows amongst the Dominican friars at Rome. His proficiency in theological and scholastic learning was rapid and distinguished, and he attained in some years to all the honors of his order. He served in the ministry in Dublin after his return home, and was once clothing himself in the sacred vestments for the celebration of mass, when the chapel was entered by a guard of soldiers, a clergyman of the name of English torn away from the altar and conveyed to Newgate, and Burke with some other friars only escaped by one of

the doors of the vestry room. Whilst at Rome, during the Carnival in 1729, he attracted in a peculiar manner the friendship and regards of the Pope Benedict XIII. who then entered into a religious retreat along with the friars of the convent of St. Sixtus, and to whom Burke was afterwards indebted for the mitre. The *Hibernia Dominicana* was published by Dr. Burke in 1762, and a supplement of it in 1772. Many years must have been spent in the composition of this work ; and a journey which the author made to Rome for the purpose of collecting documents, proves the anxiety which he felt to render it worthy of the subject, and of the care bestowed upon it. Few books contain more miscellaneous information connected with the ecclesiastical history of Ireland than the *Hibernia Dominicana* ; the political details which diversify it, though occasionally neither prudent nor temperate, are interesting and correct. It is moreover an invaluable and exact depository of family history ; and the mere theologian will derive from the perusal of some of its chapters much pleasure and instruction. It had, however, its faults.

Besides some political expressions of an offensive nature contained in the work itself, Dr. Burke had occasion, in the supplement, to notice the form of an oath, similar in many particulars to that required by the bill of 1774; and these clauses were by him unreservedly and clamorously reprobated. For the more effectual circulation of his sentiments on this important and delicate subject, he had copies of the work and supplement presented in his name to some of the protestant bishops of the kingdom, and to the university of Dublin, at that time extremely hostile to the extension of any favor or protection to the Roman catholic body. The effects of these ill-judged and injurious measures were deeply regretted by the prelates and clergy of the kingdom, and particularly by the bishops of the province of Munster, a body then, and always, looked up to with respect, as well by the holy see, as by their brother bishops in Ireland and England.*

* The following distinguished testimony of the merits of the Munster bishops and clergy is contained in an official communication from the then prefect of the congregation De propaganda fide, to Bishop Moylan;

To remedy this evil as far as lay in their power, and to express at the same time their judgment of the test oath, a provincial synod of the Munster prelates was held near Cork, on the 15th of July 1775, where the following declaration was unanimously agreed to.

“ We, the chiefs of the Roman catholic clergy of the province of Munster, having met together near Cork, have unanimously agreed, that the oath of allegiance proposed by act of parliament, anno regni decimo tertio & quarto Georgii tertii regis, contains nothing contrary to the principles of the Roman catholic religion.” James Butler, Daniel O’Kearney, John Butler, Michael Peter M’Mahon, Mathew M’Kenna, William Egan, F. Moylan.

Not satisfied with this declaration of their opinions on the oath itself, they entered on

“ Gaudeo rumores illos qui de Hybernorum Præsulum negligentia, deque prolapsa apud vos ecclesiastica disciplina vehementer percrebuerunt ad Casiliensem provinciam nullatenus pertinere: cujus clerus non pietate solum & doctrina, sed moderatione etiam & temperantia præ cæteris floret.” Never was praise better deserved or more justly bestowed than what is contained in these few lines.

the 28th of July into an unanimous resolution, marking, in the strongest terms, their entire dissent from the doctrines put forward on the oath of allegiance by Doctor Burke in his *Hibernia Dominicana*, and at the same time expressing “their firm and unshaken loyalty and gratitude to his majesty King George the Third.” The declaration of the prelates was transmitted by Doctor Butler, the archbishop of Cashel, to his agent at Rome, the late bishop Bellew, by whom the substance of the act of parliament, and an exact translation of the oath, were laid before the Pope. The holy father read them with much attention, and expressed his ardent hope, “that the kindness of the legislature would shortly be further extended to his suffering children.” Notwithstanding these expressions of his holiness, and the conviction which must have existed in the mind of any enlightened, or well informed theologian, that there was nothing contained in the oath which was in any degree adverse to the doctrine of the catholic church; still the bishops had much to contend with from the narrow designs of a party in Rome, who sought to

procure by every means in their power a censure of the oath, and, consequently, of the approvers of it in Ireland. These persons found for a while a willing agent in Doctor Carpenter, the catholic archbishop of Dublin. He agreed with his friends at Rome that, although he held as his fixed opinion that the Pope had no temporal power or authority, direct or indirect, in the kingdom, the denial upon oath of such a power, in as much as it was at former periods claimed for the Pope by theologians of celebrity, was harsh and presumptuous. His opposition to the sentiments of the other prelates was to them a subject of pain and regret; but with principle for their guide, they finally secured the approbation of Rome, and had also the gratification, in a short time, of seeing Dr. Carpenter himself yield to reason, and take the oath of allegiance. The Congregation *De propaganda fide*, a tribunal always eminent for the prudence, wisdom, and justice which govern its councils, intimated to the Munster prelates that, though the oath was by the congregation considered unobjectionable, still the cardinals could not

forbear expressing their opinion that the conduct of the approvers of the test in Ireland was blameable : 1st; Because that they had not, before expressing their opinion of the test, consulted Rome. 2dly; That they were the authors and framers of the oath, and might therefore have drawn it up in a form less liable to misconstruction; and 3dly, That there did not appear to have been any pressing necessity for the framing of such an oath at all. The vindication of the prelates was not a task of much difficulty. Archbishop Butler replied in their name by a memoir of some length, in which the history of the oath is given, the objections to it ably refuted, and its supporters justified and defended. (For this document see Appendix B.) The complaints of the sacred congregation were met by the following reasons : viz. 1st, The prelates had not consulted the holy see previously to their having approved of the test oath, because they saw nothing obscure or intricate in it upon which it should be necessary for bishops in synod to have recourse to Rome. So entirely were they satisfied of the law-

fulness and orthodoxy of the oath, that they would not have consulted the university of Paris, as they had done, had it not been necessary to silence the quibbles of some persons in Ireland by the authority of scholastic divines. To the second charge it was answered, that the Munster prelates were not the framers of the test : it had been drawn up by the catholic committee of Dublin, under the sanction of the archbishop (*annuente archiepiscopo*) : and moreover, that the holy see was the first itself to give occasion to the catholics manifesting their allegiance, by the honors paid to the King of England's brother in Rome, and by the encyclical letter of Clement XIV. : and to the last charge a reply was given, that there did exist the greatest necessity for framing and taking the oath—the good of religion, and the *salus populi* of the province. “Parts of Munster,” the archbishop said, “had been long the theatre of the greatest tumults, such as excited alarm in the government, and were by the enemies of the catholics said to be fomented and promoted by them. To free themselves entirely from these suspicions, no

other way was left, nor could any be more effectual, than their approval of the test."

This statement was favorably received at Rome : the oath was generally taken by the clergy and people in Ireland ; and thus was the way opened to the amelioration of a class of persons who suffered more for conscience sake than history records of any other people, and whose inflexible loyalty at moments of extreme danger was the best criterion of the principles that governed their religious and political conduct. The persons most conspicuous in producing these happy results were Dr. Butler Archbishop of Cashel, Dr. Egan Bishop of Waterford, and Dr. Moylan Bishop of Cork, men whose memories should not be soon forgotten in Ireland, and who were equally distinguished for genuine patriotism, pure political conduct, and sincere and ardent piety.

Doctor James Butler was descended from the Ballyragget branch of the noble house of Ormond. He was born in Dublin on the 29th of March 1743. His early education was received amongst the Jesuits, and his ecclesiastical studies were gone

through with distinguished success, at St. Omers. When only thirty years of age, he was, on the postulation of his predecessor and namesake, consecrated his coadjutor, under the title of *Episcopus Germanico-politanus in partibus*, on Sunday the 4th of July 1773. He received the episcopal consecration from the venerable Bishop of Amiens De la Motte D'Orleans, who entertained a paternal affection for him, and who always spoke of him under the endearing title of "my Benjamin." He succeeded to the sees of Cashel and Emly in May 1774; and died on the 29th July 1791, after a life too short for his friends and religion, but full of truly apostolic labours. Incessant and unwearied in the care of the trust committed to him, he was "a sleepless sentinel in *Israel*." The only hours which he abstracted from the duties of his episcopacy were those which he gave to the sanctification of his own life, in the practices of that fervent piety and saintly devotion, which, in a peculiar manner, marked his character. No man of his day in Ireland was more respected by every class of persons than he was. His friend-

ship was courted by the distinguished members of every successive administration of the government of the country; and the dignitaries of the established church paid to him, in public and private, that tribute of admiration and respect, which the sterling and unassuming virtue of his life and principles uniformly inspired. In the French court his name was not unknown; and a marked regard was paid to his recommendations in the capital of the Christian world. As a prelate, Dr. Butler was the centre round which, at various distances, the bishops of the province moved; and their attachment to him was in every instance more the spontaneous tribute and respect for the virtues which adorned his character, than the measured and reluctant deference challenged by ecclesiastical superiority. He entered into all their various feelings, whether of domestic affliction or public suffering: his counsel, his friendship, and his influence belonged to them; and he appeared to feel that, as he advanced their respectability, comfort, and security, he only added to his own personal pleasures and enjoy-

ment. It can excite, therefore, little surprise, that the premature death of such a man should be lamented with extreme sorrow by those to whom he was thus united in the bonds of valuable and interesting friendship ; and that the letters which passed between them, after their good archbishop was separated from them, should breathe sincere and melancholy regret. In the following terms was the intimation of Dr. Butler's death conveyed to Dr. Moylan of Cork, by Bishop Egan of Waterford.

“ My most honoured and ever dear friend,

“ The enclosed, with others for Dr. Tehan and Dr. Coppinger, and one for myself, reached me by express this morning, just as I was setting out to some distant parishes to give confirmation ; but I have sent to countermand the appointment, as I mean to go this day, please God, (and with a heavy heart, He knows) to assist at our dearest friend's interment, which I am informed will be to-morrow. God grant that I be able to attempt the journey ! The shock I feel from the

dismal intelligence overwhelms me beyond expression; and I am the more sensible of it, as a letter I had yesterday gave me the hope that the Almighty God would still spare the precious life of him we were so anxious about — but he was found, I confidently trust, fitted for a better world: yet his loss to us is truly irreparable. I am so borne down as not to be master of my cool reflection, or of my reason. Depressed as I am, I can now say no more than, in the deepest affliction, to join my prayers to yours for the soul of our most worthy friend, and to beseech Almighty God to lend you to me for a comfort during the short remainder of my days — that I may not, a miserable, forlorn, old man, survive every one that was dear to me!”

Dr. Butler was the compiler of the catechism now generally taught to children in Ireland. It is a valuable and correct epitome of the religious and moral duties of Christians, and comprises, in a small compass, as complete a developement of the Christian religion as any book of the same size in any language.

Another not less good and valuable

man was Dr. Egan, who governed the united dioceses of Waterford and Lismore. Dr. Egan resided principally in Clonmell, and was the first catholic clergyman in Ireland, since the Revolution, who was permitted to assist criminals under sentence of death, previously to their execution. He was not excelled by any of his contemporaries in the extent of his theological learning, the correct views which he took of every subject that was brought under his consideration, and above all, in the extreme interest which his society and conversation were always known to inspire. Among his intimate friends in the political world, he reckoned the late Lord Avonmore, the late Earl of Shannon, the Chancellor Ponsonby, Mr. Grattan, John Hely Hutchinson, Mr. Curran : in a word, his acquaintance was anxiously courted by the various judges and lawyers who visited Clonmell at the season of the assizes ; and it was no unfrequent circumstance that the judges, discarding the pomp and pageant which surrounded them at all times whilst on the circuit, retired from state and bustle to the private and interesting circle which

was always to be found in the catholic bishop's humble parlour. By these visitors, and they were men able to distinguish between merit and pretension, Dr. Egan was admitted to be one of the most universal scholars and one of the clearest reasoners of his day. His death took place in 1797, whilst the assizes were holding in Clonmell; and on the day of his interment the courts were adjourned by desire of the Judges, that opportunity may thereby be afforded to the gentlemen of the bar and of the grand jury to pay the last sad tribute of respect to the memory of a man universally esteemed and respected. The concourse of persons of every class and description, who crowded to join in the melancholy procession which accompanied his remains to the grave, was without example, and bespoke the deep and sincere feeling of regret which his death excited, and the recollection of his virtues deserved.

To the memory of Bishop Moylan, the present writer has, in another place (*Memoirs of Abbé Edgeworth*), paid a tribute of gratitude and respect, which, however imperfect, he feels pleasure in transcribing here.

“ Doctor Moylan was descended from a respectable Roman catholic family in Ireland. His father, Mr. John Moylan of Cork, was extensively engaged in mercantile pursuits ; and two of his brothers who, at an early age, had emigrated to the American colonies, served with valour and success, as general officers, in the eventful contest which terminated in the freedom of the United States. At an early age, Dr. Moylan declared his predilection for an ecclesiastical life; and his determination was strengthened and matured by the example and encouragement of a near relative, a jesuit, then residing in Cork. The preparatory ecclesiastical studies were successfully gone through, at Toulouse and Paris, by Dr. Moylan. Whilst an inmate of the university of the former place, a friendship commenced between him and the celebrated confessor of Louis XVI., the Abbé Edgeworth, which continued during the Abbé's life-time, and which was equally honorable to the discernment, the sincerity, and piety of both.

“ After Dr. Moylan's ordination, in the year 1761, he served, for some time, as a vicar in the parish of Chatou in Paris ; in

which situation he deserved and enjoyed the regards and attentions of the Archbishop Christophe de Beaumont. He shortly afterwards returned to his native city, and, in a few years, was consecrated Bishop of Ard-fert and Aghadoe.

“ It was during the period in which Dr. Moylan governed these sees that his exertions commenced for founding an association of ladies, under the peculiar sanction of religion, for educating the female children of the poor. This valuable object he lived to effect in the most splendid and permanent manner, by the establishment of the religious order of the *Presentation Nuns*. He was, in 1786, translated to his native diocese, where, for more than thirty years, he lived respected, beloved, and revered by persons of every class of society, and of all religious persuasions—the benevolent friend of all who sought his assistance or counsel, and, in a peculiar manner, ‘ the guide, the father, and the friend ’ of his own numerous and respectable flock. He was one of those good men whose lives are the best vindication of the principles they profess ; and whose conduct, exclusively of the adven-

titious circumstances of rank or station, would excite veneration and respect in the mind of even the most inattentive observer. Few men, in any walk of society, lived more universally esteemed and venerated than he did ; and even in mature old age, at the advanced period of eighty years, he sunk into an easy grave : few men departed from the stage of life more immaculate in public estimation, or regretted with more affectionate remembrance, in the extensive circles of his domestic and ecclesiastical relations.

“ Dr. Moylan’s person was as interesting almost as his character was amiable. In youth and manhood he was remarkably handsome ; and, in old age, his appearance was such as to engage undivided attention.”

To this very imperfect outline of the character of this good bishop, the writer will be permitted to add that, from an attentive perusal of Dr. Moylan’s correspondence, for the space of half a century, with some of the most remarkable men of his times, as well politicians as ecclesiastics, he is enabled to say, that no one of his

contemporaries was a more sincere patriot, or a more valuable friend to the interests, improvement, and happiness of Ireland than he was. In the following pages his name will frequently occur; and it will always be found in conjunction with some measure of utility to his country, or of benefit to mankind. He died in February 1815, and is buried in the cathedral which he had erected a short time before his death. A beautiful marble monument, designed and executed by *Turnerelli*, is placed over the spot where his ashes repose.

To these valuable men was, on their own postulation, shortly added in the spiritual government of the province a prelate, who to bland and courtly manners, and elegant literature, joins the enlightened mind of a philanthropist, the profound erudition of the cloyster, and the unbroken energies and piety of apostolical zeal: one, whose writings advance the cause of that church to which he is a boast and ornament, and whose patriotism is as pure as the motives from which it has its origin. Is the name of COPPINGER requisite that his countrymen should recognise the original of this

outline? With reason was it said by a good man speaking of Bishop Coppinger's nomination to the diocese of Cloyne in 1787, "It is a happy appointment! The diocese, the province, and the hierarchy will be blessed and benefited by it." (Letter of Archbishop Butler to Dr. Moylan.)

To join in the efforts made by these valuable and patriotic men in favor of the test oath, was the object O'Leary had in view in the publication of "Loyalty asserted." He alone appeared amongst the body to whom he belonged, a privileged writer. The oath had found some of its most strenuous opponents both in Ireland and at Rome amongst the friars; and he therefore felt himself called upon to utter his opinion freely and with energy. The work was widely circulated, and called forth as well the acknowledgments of the friends of the government to the writer, as the warm gratitude of his catholic fellow countrymen.

From the manner in which Ireland was ruled previously to the successful vindication of her legislative rights in 1782, every appearance of foreign invasion was reason-

ably dreaded by the ministry. The situation of the catholics tended to justify those fears ; for, although no people under like degradation, insult, and tyranny could give less cause to suspect their allegiance ; still the vast wealth which, as has been before remarked, many of that body had accumulated in trade, and their extensive and powerful continental connections, rendered them very formidable in the kingdom, and drew the eyes of government, in a very anxious manner, upon them. In addition to this, the progress which, notwithstanding the laws against education, intellectual cultivation had begun to make amongst the catholics, and the consciousness their rulers must have had of their own injustice, haunted their minds, and filled them with doubt and suspicion. Hence, when in 1779 the hostile French and Spanish fleets rode menacing and unopposed in the Channel, much anxiety prevailed regarding the catholic body. Their conduct, however, at that as well as at every other crisis of the political affairs of the country, vindicated the sincerity of their professions of loyalty. The claims of the American war had lite-

rally drained Ireland of her armies ; and the inhabitants, unaided by their usual bulwarks of naval and military defence, were left to guard their own coasts against a formidable and determined enemy. No attempt at invasion was indeed made ; but had any design of the sort been manifested, there exists little doubt but that the catholics would have been foremost to hazard their lives in the defence of their country. At this critical moment “ An address to the common people ” from O’Leary, was productive of the happiest results. Like his previous publications, it was in style bold, nervous, and eloquent, and inculcated and explained the obligation and duties of undivided allegiance.

His next appearance before the public as a writer, was as the antagonist of the celebrated John Wesley. To a spirit of deep and enthusiastic fanaticism, Wesley joined a profound calculating policy, which enlightened his progress as a religionist, though it, at times, led him into the foul and miry paths of worldly stratagem and cunning. If he was not imbued in a higher degree with intolerance than the religious

sect who claim him for their founder, he was, at least, more unhesitating in its avowal; and, strange as it would appear, (were not the same moral contradiction exemplified in almost every other reformer), he, who claimed for himself the right of conscientious opposition to the dictate of the established church of the country, was the most illiberal denier of the same right to the numerous and oppressed body of his catholic countrymen. His conduct in this instance was a striking commentary on the words of Tacitus — *Eo immitior quia toleraverat.*

There was a policy of no common kind in Wesley's enmity to the catholics. He was himself a more insidious adversary to the established church than any of his contemporaries. His early efforts were directed to its overthrow; and the corrosive influence of his doctrines and system on the fabric of English protestantism are at this day felt and exclaimed against by the best friends to the establishment. It is no wonder, therefore, that he should seek to divert the too intense and scrutinizing gaze of the guardians of ortho-

doxy from his pursuits and designs. An opportunity of doing so presented itself; and, satisfied with the motive, he availed himself of it, reckless of consequences.

“The protestant association,” whose object was, by acts of violence, to terrify the legislature from extending any relief to the catholics of England, was a measure of popular and fanatical institution. However imposing it was in point of physical strength, it stood much in need of literary defence against able and powerful antagonists; and Wesley conciliated the favor and ensured the applause of the multitude by “A letter concerning the principles of Roman catholics,” and “A defence of the protestant association;” which he printed in January 1780. The aim of these publications was to prove “that no government, not catholic, ought to tolerate men of the Roman catholic persuasion;” and to “excite the protestants to join hand in hand, and unite as one man in their opposition to popery—a cause in which their present and future welfare was so nearly concerned.” It would appear, from the tenor of Wesley’s attacks on catholicism, that he wanted but

the torch, the sword, and the followers of John Knox, to attempt "the extermination of popery" by physical force. The spirit which actuated both these reformers was the same: their views of catholicity were similar; and the temper of the times, and not of the individuals, was the discrepancy which saved a peaceful, loyal, and inoffensive people from destruction.

O'Leary, who was in Dublin when these inflammatory productions issued from the press, immediately replied to them in what he termed "Remarks on the Reverend John Wesley's letter on the civil principles of Roman catholics, and his defence of the protestant association." With the candour of a lover of truth, he prefixed the *letter and defence* to his own remarks; and thus put under the public eye at the same time, the charge and its refutation. Few of his writings were more successful or better received than this reply. It was at once witty, argumentative, and eloquent; and most effectually exposed to censure and rebuke the illiberal, unjust, and persecuting spirit of the hoary patriarch of methodism. Wesley replied: but the reply

was soon forgotten ; whilst “ the arch and lively production ” (as he termed it) of his antagonist, was widely circulated and admired, as well for the liberal and tolerant sentiments which it contained, as for the illuminations of a wit which mingled with every thing he wrote or said ; and which, in even the most serious moments of his life, it was impossible for him entirely to control. The “ association ” writhed under the inflictions of the chastisements and ridicule to which they were subjected by O’Leary ; and on a petition being presented from the town of Rochester to the English House of Commons in April 1780, for the repeal of Sir George Saville’s bill in favor of the catholics, Lord George Gordon produced O’Leary’s “ Remarks,” from which, to the amusement of the members, he read some extracts, and concluded that another massacre of protestants, similar to that related in Irish history, was to be dreaded, if the wishes of the petitioners were not attended to.

In the course of his “ Remarks ” O’Leary introduces what he entitles “ An humble remonstrance to the Scotch and English

inquisitors, by way of apostrophe." It is an admirable piece of argument and eloquence. One or two short extracts will shew its object and value. "Gentlemen," says O'Leary, "you impose on the ignorant by your cant of words of *violation of faith with heretics*. Like Boileau's heroes, you are ransacking old books, canvassing legends of exaggerated massacres; and like scholars who, after repeating their lecture, fling about the bones and skulls piled up in charnel houses, you haunt the living with the images of the dead." After an exposition of the heartless and unchristian designs of the association, he proceeds: — "Mention no longer *violation of faith with heretics*. You violate all the laws of civil society: in dissolving the ties of friendship, and pointing out your fellow subjects as the victims of legal severity, you split and rend the nation; you weaken its power, and trespass upon the respect due to your rulers, whom, instead of being the fathers of their people, you would fain force to become the heads of a faction.

"You *violate* the sacred rights of nature. Her bountiful Author declares that 'He

makes His sun to shine on the just, and on the unjust.' The light of the sun, the brilliancy of the stars, the sweetness of fruit, and the balsamic effluvia of the flowers, are dispersed with a liberal hand to the heathen and the idolater. Must you deprive your neighbour of gifts common to all Adam's children, because they hold a religion which all your forefathers professed ; and which, if wrong, can hurt none but themselves." Contrasting the intolerance and spirit of the association with the moral, intellectual, and political improvements of the age, he concludes : — " Your transactions shall be recorded in the appendix to the history of *Jack Straw and Wat Tyler*, and your chaplains and apologists shall be ranked with James Nailer and Hugh Peters." Wesley's reply was noticed by O'Leary in a few pages usually printed with the "Remarks," and entitled "A rejoinder to Mr. Wesley's reply."

In a short time after this controversy had concluded, the parties met at the house of a mutual friend. Their different publications were mentioned ; but kindness and sincere good feeling towards each

other, softened down the asperities of sectarian repulsiveness; and after an evening spent in a manner highly entertaining and agreeable, they parted, each expressing his esteem for the other, and both giving the example that public difference on a religious or political subject, is quite consistent with the exercise of the duties of personal kindness and esteem. Wesley is said, in this instance, to have relaxed into a most agreeable companion; and O'Leary by his wit, archness, and information, was an inexhaustable source of delight, entertainment, and instruction. Mr. Southey, in his life of Wesley—a book remarkable for nothing more than the illiberal and unwarranted abuse of Ireland and catholicity contained in it—claims much merit for his hero from this intimacy with his triumphant antagonist; but the laureate must know little of O'Leary's temper and disposition, if he thought for a moment that he did not appreciate benevolence too much, not to avail himself of every opportunity which offered for its more extensive diffusion, or its more unalloyed and uninterrupted enjoyment.

About this time it was, that the philanthropist Howard, led by his benevolent enthusiasm to fathom dungeons, vindicate the wrongs, and alleviate the sufferings of the lonely and forgotten victim of vice and crime, arrived at Cork. A society had for some years existed in that city "for the relief and discharge of persons confined for small debts," of which O'Leary was an active and conspicuous member. This association had its origin in the humane mind of Henry Shears, Esq., the father of two distinguished victims to the political distractions of their country in the year 1798: and a literary production of that gentleman, which in its style and matter emulated the elegance and morality of Addison, strengthened and matured the benevolent institution.* During Mr. Howard's

* The following is a transcript of the beautiful little essay alluded to:

"It is to be feared that there are some who, from considering the Lord's Prayer only as it stands in our liturgy, have been led into an imperfect idea of the petition for forgiveness. In the Greek of St. Matthew it runs thus, "Forgive us our *debts* as we forgive our *debtors*;" and to this St. Luke corresponds:—"Forgive us our sins, *for* we also forgive those who are *indebted* to us."

stay in Cork, he was introduced to O'Leary by their common friend Archdeacon Austin. Two such minds required but an opportunity to admire and venerate each other; and frequently, in after times, Howard

“ Why any deviation should have been made from words so sacred, I do not know. The literal construction *debts*, takes in all that is intended in *trespasses*, and more. In its first and immediate sense, it means those obligations relative to property which arise from the intercourse of society; and extends also to the great circle of duties which man owes to man, and every man to his Creator.

“ Existence, reason, immortality, a profusion of temporary, and an offer of endless blessings, form a debt too great to be discharged. The warmest aspirations and gratitude are faint; and the most vigorous exertions of service imperfect. But our efforts may reach to man, though they fall short of Heaven. THE GREAT UNIVERSAL CREDITOR takes to Himself what we do for others. Pity, patience, and benignity are His favorite offerings; and the prevailing petition of His command is — that we make each other happy.

“ He, who stooped to instruct us how to ask forgiveness, makes the remitting of the debts of others the express condition of our hopes. This is the first step of the scale; and he who will not rise so far above his passions, can never expect to go higher. To remember injuries with kindness, to repay evil with good, and become the cheerful benefactor of an enemy, are heights beyond the reach of unenlightened ethics. Yet to these must every one aspire who would avail himself of the

boasted of sharing the friendship and esteem of the friar.

The success which had uniformly attended the efforts made by O'Leary in favor of toleration, led his friends about

sufferings or intercession of the TEACHER. But the rudiments of philanthropy must be learned before we can feel its elevations. Until pity unbars the heart, refinement can meet no entrance; nor can we dream of soaring to angelic heights, while we lie sunk below the common standard of humanity.

“ To deprive a fellow being of every comfort, and cover him with every misery, merely for his incapacity of paying, would evince a malignity too diabolical, I hope, to be human. Yet, little better is the relentless creditor's motive — a wretched pride of appearing acute and prudent in the eyes of others, mixed with a little grovelling resentment at the idea of a real or pretended imposition on his understanding ! For this he showers woes upon the head of poverty ; and denies to his brother of the dust a little portion of the mercy, which, if our common Maker did not unlimitedly possess, the first — the only wish of every thinking being would be, to shrink out of existence.

“ To the misplacing of our passions we owe most of our errors. Ambitious of eminence, where in fact we are most restrained, we are more jealous of our intellectual than our moral merit. We are content to be thought cruel, provided we are thought sagacious ; and, to support the fancied stateliness of worldly wisdom, descend below the rank of the common executioner. We catch at a revenge not palliated by the plea of pro-

this time to think that he ought not to be suffered to remain inactive. They thought that as he had now gained on the attention and confidence of the public, an opportunity was afforded for a more bold and

vocation, nor dignified by the shew of spirit ; — a revenge within the reach of the most abject being in the community — at which a man should blush, and a Christian should tremble.

“ Real pre-eminence is bestowed by the hand of generous forbearance ; and the most thrilling flattery is the voice of misery relieved. To see the tear of gratitude swelling in the eye ; and the features throbbing with the emotions of a blessing heart : — to see happiness, like a new creation, brightening up at our touch ; and feel ourselves rising in the estimation of *the Source of being* — these create a pride which humility may avow, and a superiority which will survive the fleeting phantoms of distinction.

“ The eye that reads this paper must close. The hand that holds it must rot. Nor is the hour far off ! Business seeks in vain to subdue, or levity to repel the thought. It has a voice of thunder, and will be heard. When that which is dreadful is also inevitable, to disarm it of its terrors is all that is left us. Religion points to the means ; and reason urges us to embrace them.

“ When aid is vain, and joy is fled ; when the soul begins to disentangle, and feel the presages of the approaching future from a consciousness of the past — when the stage of life is darkened, and the great much talked of scene begins to realize and open to the view,

manly advocacy of the principle of liberty of conscience than had hitherto existed ; and, in consequence, they were urgent with him to come forward in its defence once more. On such a subject he required little persuasion ; and the publication of his best and ablest work was the evidence of his reverence for freedom of conscience. It was entitled “ An essay on toleration, or

the debts we have remitted, the wrongs we have forgiven, and the miseries we have relieved, will play with cherub faces round the fancy, and turn to rapture the pangs of dissolution !

“ To such joys and prospects some hearts have made themselves insensible ; but from the dominion of terror none are exempt. The Great Former of our nature, therefore, intimidates while he allures ; and denounces a reverse, from which the imagination revolts in terror.

“ In the catalogue of transgression, *inexorability* stands dreadfully distinguished. To every other offender, though he may shudder at the justice of the Almighty, there still is some resource remaining in His mercy. *But he who denies mercy, forfeits mercy.* He disclaims the saving attribute, which softens the terrors of Omnipotence, and quits the last hold that hangs from Heaven over the gulph of eternity !

“ If death and judgment be not chimeras ; if the Son of God knew the will of His Father ; if that will be founded in immutable truth — *he that does not forgive, will not be forgiven !*

“ AGRICOLA.”

Mr. O'Leary's plea for liberty of conscience." The style of this essay is pure, nervous, and eloquent; and the reasoning every way worthy so noble a subject. That the question which O'Leary undertook to discuss in this work, had formed a previous subject of his meditation, may be gathered from the following passage in the introduction.

"Cartesius in his stove, by remarking the motion of the smoke which rolled from his pipe, gave the first shock to Aristotle's barbarous philosophy, which kept the world in ignorance for so many ages. Succeeding geniuses improved upon the new plan, till Sir Isaac Newton dispelled the mist, and made the light shine forth in its full lustre. I, in my cell, reflecting on the revolutions that religion has occasioned, not for the good but for the destruction of mankind — revolutions in their morals by inspiring them with mutual hatred and aversion, by making them believe that they were dispensed with the unchangeable laws of love and humanity, and deluding them into a persuasion that the death or oppression of a fellow creature on account of his error,

was an agreeable sacrifice to the Divinity. I also, by a feeble attempt to overthrow the altars of an idol that has put Jesus Christ on a level with Moloch, and whose false oracles persuaded mankind that the ears of a god of compassion and tenderness were pleased with the groans of victims tied to the stake, or famishing in dungeons or hovels, may induce others to enlist under the banners of benevolence, and pave the way for abler hands to raise the structure of human happiness on the ruins of religious frenzy."

The position which he defends in his "Plea" is, "that the supreme power in the state has no right to vindicate the Deity by fines, forfeitures, oppression, or the death of men whose only crime is an erroneous religion*," which does not disturb

* With what strength of eloquence and philosophy is a similar opinion put forward by one of the ablest and earliest advocates for liberty of conscience in Europe! — "Experientia satis edocti sumus" says the president De Thou, in the dedication of his History to Henry the Fourth of France, "ferrum, flammæ, exilia, proscriptiones irritasse potius quam sanasse morbum menti inherentem; ad quam proinde curandum, non iis quæ in corpus tantum penetrant, sed doctrina & sedula institutione quæ in animum leniter instillata descendunt opus

the peace of society :—whether they be jews, mahometans, christians, heretics, or catholics, provided they believe in a supreme being, and rewards and punishments in a future state.” His reason for introducing this latter qualification, he intimates to be “because all people exclude from civil toleration those who confound vice

esse. Alia quippe omnia pro arbitrio civilis magistratûs atque adeo principis sanciantur : sola religio non impetratur, sed ex precepta veritatis opinione, accedente divini numinis gratia, bene preparatis mentibus infunditur. Ad eam cruciatus nihil valent : quin obfirmant potius animos quam frangunt aut persuadent.” Thuan. Hist. Dedicat. p. 2. vol. 1. ed. Parisiis, 1604.

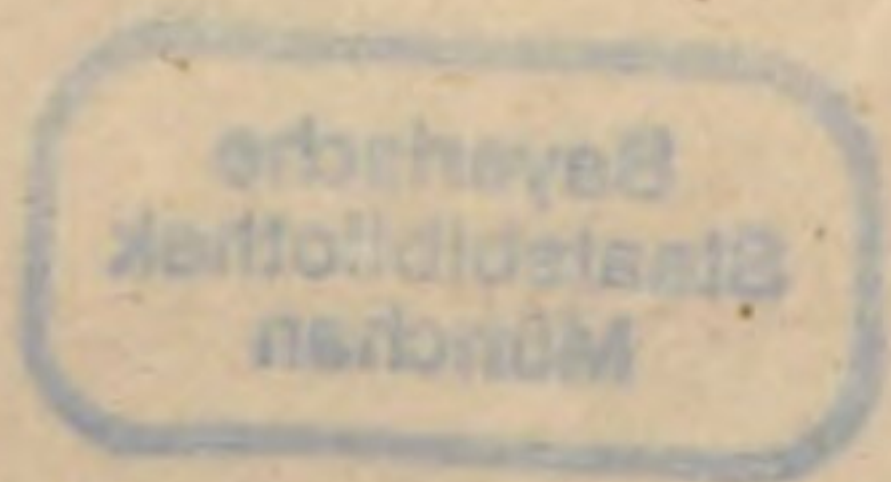
Would to God the justness of these opinions were always recognized by civil and religious legislators ! The spirit of Christ abhors the intrusion of temporal powers into the sanctuary of religion. *They who take the sword for the advancement of the christian creed, shall perish with the sword ;* and they who invoke the vengeance of Heaven on their erroneous brethren, *know not of what spirit they are.* The meek sanctity of true religion is always its best protection ; its purity and morality its best vindication ; and patient forbearance and boundless charity are the great features by which it should be most known amongst mankind. They who believe, with the apostle, that *now we see into futurity through a glass darkly*, should seek to enlighten the path to a more perfect vision by benevolence rather than by the torch of fanaticism or the faggot of persecution.

and virtue in the horrors of the grave :— for the links of society are dissolved when vice loses its horror, and virtue its attractions ; when the heart is steeled against the fear of an invisible judge, and the conscience is unshackled from its bonds.”

Never were the grounds on which rests the inalienable right possessed by every man to worship God, uncontrolled by human legislation so far as regards speculative opinions, more clearly stated or more ably enforced, than in this essay. The declarations of the first teachers of Christianity regarding the means of inculcating religion and correcting error, as adduced by O'Leary, are clear and conclusive ; and the reasonings by which he upholds the proposition which he lays down, are, at once, luminous and incontrovertible. Religious persecution, he says, is the offspring of lawless rule : “ tyranny begot it, ignorance fostered it ; and barbarous divines have clothed it in stolen garments of religion.” In the course of the book, the following deserved tribute is paid to the founders of the society of quakers in

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America : “ The quakers, to their eternal credit, and to the honor of humanity, are the only persons who have exhibited a meekness and forbearance worthy the imitation of those who have entered into a covenant of mercy by their baptism. William Penn, the great legislator of that people, had the success of a conqueror in establishing and defending his colony amongst savage tribes, without ever drawing the sword ; the goodness of the most benevolent rulers in treating his subjects as his own children ; and the tenderness of a universal father who opened his arms to all mankind, without distinction of sect or party. In his republic it was not the religious creed, but the personal merit that entitled every member of society to the protection and emoluments of the state.” He concludes this just eulogy by the following bold apostrophe :—“ Rise from your grave, great man ! and teach those sovereigns, who make their subjects miserable on account of their catechisms, the method of making them happy : they, whose dominions resemble enormous prisons, where



one part of the creation are distressed captives, and the other their un pitying keepers."

After paying this tribute of respect to the memory of a great and good man, O'Leary does not omit to notice that Lord Baltimore, a Roman catholic, and the founder of Maryland, was equally tolerant with Penn in his settlement; and had, moreover, the merit of anticipating the quaker in the career of benevolence. The priority of Lord Baltimore's claim is admitted by Mr. Clarkson, the biographer of Penn; and as it was the most striking instance in modern times of enlightened legislation on the subject, it is, at once, a source of pride and triumph to the catholics.

This essay had a circulation almost unequalled at the time in Ireland, and was the means of extending the author's reputation as a philanthropist, in a degree that was highly valuable to his religion, and creditable to himself. One pleasing consequence of its publication was his being elected a member of the "Monks of Saint Patrick." This was a political association

which took its rise under the auspices of that great lawyer Lord Avonmore, then Mr. Yelverton. Many of the members of the *whig club* belonged to it. “Both societies,” says Mr. Hardy, in his life of Lord Charlemont, “were formed in times very interesting to the welfare of Ireland; and their general object was a co-operation of men who held, or professed to hold, a general similarity of political principles, and resolved to maintain the rights and constitution of their country. At the time of the formation of the *whig club*, the *monks of Saint Patrick* had, as a body, ceased to exist. When they first assembled in 1779, the demand of a free trade for Ireland had been made, and, in the course of that session, wisely complied with. Mr. Grattan’s celebrated speech and motion for a declaration of rights, followed in 1780; and in 1782 that motion was, with a change of ministry, entirely successful. How long after the splendid era of 1782, the *monks of Saint Patrick* continued their meetings, I know not.”

Amongst the distinguished members of

the monks of St. Patrick may be reckoned Messrs. Flood, Grattan, Curran, Father O'Leary, Lord Charlemont, Judges Day, Metge, and Chamberline, Lord Chief Baron Burgh, Bowes Daly, George Ogle, Lord Viscount Avonmore, Mr. Keller, &c. &c. —a constellation sufficient to enlighten any page in the history of Ireland; and men whose powers of mind stamp a character of greatness upon the times in which they flourished. The unsolicited admission of O'Leary into this association speaks equally for his merits and their discernment. As a return for the honor thus conferred on him, he took the opportunity of expressing his gratitude in the dedication of his various productions; which, in 1781, he collected together, and published in one volume 8vo.

It is gratifying, on this occasion, to record the liberality of the English Catholic Committee, who, on the appearance of the work, caused above 100 copies, at their expense, to be presented in O'Leary's name to various distinguished individuals. Of the effect produced, the following letters, selected from several complimentary acknowledgments, will be sufficient evidence.

(From the late Right Honorable Welbore Ellis, afterwards Lord Mendip.)

“ Reverend Sir,

“ A person has left at my door a volume of your tracts, accompanied by an obliging card, explaining the great object and end to which these tracts are to lead. When wit, learning, and benevolence, who do not always travel in company, do me the favor to come to my door, if I did not receive such guests with satisfaction and respect, I should little deserve a dwelling among a learned and civilized people. I beg, therefore, to trouble you with my best acknowledgments for this obliging mark of your notice; and to assure you, that I feel as I ought this instance of your favor towards me. I should be very glad, when your occasions call you to this part of the world, to make these acknowledgments in person, which I now do by letter; and to repeat to you the sentiments of gratitude and esteem, with which I have the honor to be,

“ Reverend Sir,

“ Your most obedient, and

“ most humble servant,

“ London,

“ May 30th, 1782.

“ W. ELLIS.”

(From Lord Beauchamp, late Marquis of Hertford.)

“ Reverend Sir,

“ I received a few days ago the present of your works, which you have been so obliging as to send me ; and am very happy at the opportunity it procures me of expressing my sincere esteem for the author. I most ardently wish that the principles of toleration which your heart dictates, and your pen enables you to express with so much eloquence, may have a proper effect on the minds of our countrymen ; as I am satisfied the popery laws have operated as much to the prejudice of Ireland, as the restraints imposed by the jealousy of this kingdom on its trade. I have at last seen the downfall of the latter system with infinite satisfaction ; but I shall despair of seeing Ireland what I wish her to be — an opulent and happy country,—until the bulk of the people are raised from that abasement into which it has been the mistaken policy of former reigns to throw them, by the foundation of a better system. I heard with pleasure of Mr. Gardiner's bill ; but I regretted much, on

reading the provisions of the act, to find it so inadequate to the great purpose I before alluded to, and to the expectations we had formed of it. But I am insensibly getting into an argument, when my only purpose in troubling you is to assure you of the respect with which I remain,

“ Sir,

“ Your very faithful and

“ Stanhope Street,

“ humble servant,

“ 29th May 1782.

“ BEAUCHAMP.”*

It was impossible that the high and distinguished claims to respect and esteem which O’Leary possessed, should escape unnoticed by the volunteer association. Never was a more glorious æra in the history of Ireland, than whilst the wealth, valour, and genius of her inhabitants became combined for the welfare of their country—whilst every citizen was a soldier, and every paltry political or sectarian difference and distinction was lost in the full glow and fervour of the great constitutional object, which roused the energies and fixed the

* This nobleman, afterwards Marquis of Hertford, died very lately.

attention of the people. It was a spectacle worthy the proudest days of Greece or Rome; but it passed away like the sudden gleam of a summer sun. O'Leary was exceeded by none of his contemporaries as a patriot: but, though the coarse and misshapen habit of a "poor friar of the order of Saint Francis," forbade his intrusion into the more busy scene of national politics, his pen was not inactive in enlightening and directing his countrymen in their constitutional pursuits. A highly respectable body of the volunteers, the *Irish brigade*, conferred on him the honorary dignity of chaplain; and many of the measures discussed at the National Convention held in Dublin had been previously submitted to his consideration and judgment. On the 11th of November 1783, the same day on which the message said to be from Lord Kenmare, was read at the National Convention then holding its meetings in the *Rotunda*, Father O'Leary visited that celebrated assemblage. At his arrival at the outer door, the entire guard of the volunteers received him under a full salute, and rested arms: he was ushered into the meeting amidst the cheers of the assembled

delegates ; and in the course of the debate which followed, his name was mentioned, in the most flattering and complimenting manner, by most of the speakers. On his journey from Cork to the capital on that occasion, his arrival had been anticipated in Kilkenny, where he remained to dine ; and in consequence, the street in which the hotel at which he stopped was situate, was filled from an early hour with persons of every class, who sought to pay a testimony of respect to an individual, whose writings had so powerfully tended to promote the welfare and happiness of his countrymen.

The message delivered to the National Convention in the name of Lord Kenmare, and which has been just alluded to, was the source of much obloquy to that nobleman ; and, as the cause of catholic freedom in Ireland was more deeply indebted to him than to many of his contemporaries, it is but an act of justice to rescue his memory from an undeserved imputation. The message will appear, from the following facts, to have been one of the many efforts made by the administration of the day to divide the catholic body, and to distract the councils of the National Convention.

On the 11th of November 1783, whilst the Convention was engaged in a debate on the propriety of introducing into the measures of reform which they contemplated, the privilege of catholics voting at elections for members of Parliament, a message was delivered to the assembly by Mr. George Ogle, purporting to be from Lord Kenmare, and setting forth, that the catholics were satisfied with the privileges which they had already obtained, and desired no more. Lord Kenmare was understood to make this acknowledgment in the name of his fellow catholics, and by their authority. The sensation which such a communication produced in the meeting may be more easily conceived than described. The delegates gazed at each other with surprise and astonishment. The friends of the catholics, who had been in the course of the debate anxious and ardent in support of the measure, were struck dumb; whilst their enemies became exultingly triumphant. The question was of course dropped; but the delusion was of only a short continuance. On the 14th of the same month, the Convention held its next meeting; and the Bishop of Derry

after a speech of some length and remarkable for the liberality of its sentiments, read the following resolutions, which he was authorised to present to the Convention.

“ At a meeting of the committee of the Roman catholics of Ireland, held on Tuesday, Nov. 11th ;

“ Sir Patrick Bellew in the chair ;

“ The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to :

“ Resolved, That the message given in this day to the National Convention, relative to the Roman catholics of this kingdom, was without any authority whatsoever of theirs :

“ That we do not so widely differ from the rest of mankind, as by our own act to prevent the removal of our shackles :

“ That we shall receive with gratitude every indulgence that may be extended to us by the legislature ; and that we shall be thankful to our benevolent countrymen for their generous efforts in our behalf :

“ That our chairman do present these resolutions to the Bishop of Derry, to be laid before the National Convention at their next meeting.”

It was impossible that Lord Kenmare, whose name and influence had been thus made use of for the lowest purposes of party, could long remain silent. The noble lord was, during the entire period of the angry discussions which followed this unprincipled assumption of his authority, in the quiet enjoyment of his domestic pleasures at Killarney; but, as soon as he learned the history of a matter in which his honor and integrity were so deeply concerned, he sent forward the following declaration :

“ I utterly disavow having given the least authority to any person for making use of my name before the National Convention, now assembled in Dublin. I never was consulted, nor did I ever consult with any person on the expectation of future indulgences to the Roman catholics this session ; being resolved to abide contented by whatever the wisdom of the legislature should in that case determine, grateful for the past, and resigned to future events.

“ KENMARE.”

“ Killarney,
“ Nov. 20th, 1783.”

This positive and unequivocal denial of what was so deliberately given by Mr. Ogle as an authorized communication from the nobleman, who was then, deservedly, the most prominent individual amongst the catholics of the kingdom, brought from that gentleman an acknowledgment that he had not, as was stated, received a letter from Lord Kenmare on the business; and that the share he had taken in the transaction was at the instance of a gentleman who, he imagined, had been authorised to act as he had done. The public voice soon gave the merit of having effected these strange and painful contradictions to the well known Sir Boyle Roche, who was a near friend to the Kenmare family, and chamberlain to the lord lieutenant. The following letter, copies of which were sent to some of Sir Boyle's intimate catholic friends, will tend to elucidate the subject, and confirm the opinion, already expressed, of the motive which led to the misrepresentation of Lord Kenmare's sentiments:

“ Dear Sir,

“ As much has been said in regard to the message I delivered in the name of

Lord Kenmare, and many of my near connections of the same persuasion, to the armed Convention; now that that assembly has for some time broken up, and the violence of party in some measure subsided, I think it incumbent on me to explain my conduct on that occasion to my friends, and to yourself in particular.

“ I had long observed the court which was paid by a certain party to the Roman catholics; and had remarked, with concern, the facility with which the lower sort suffered themselves to be duped by the insidious pretences of those who, I believe, meant them no other favor but that of being last devoured. The Bishop of Derry and his associates had made them believe, that the resolutions of the Convention were to be the law of the land; and they were taught to look up to that assembly for those future favors which the legislative body, from whom they had already received so many indulgences, had, alone, a power to grant; but these indulgences they were encouraged to forget, and to found their future hopes of success on the wild projects of the Bishop of Derry and his associates.

“ On the evening of the 9th of November

last, I had certain intelligence that the Bishop of Derry had leagued himself with some of the unthinking part of the catholics, who were in town for the purpose ; and that the admission of that body to the rights of voting for members of parliament was to be the first matter agitated in the Convention. I now thought that the crisis was arrived in which Lord Kenmare and the heads of the body should step forth to disavow those wild projects, and to profess their attachment to the lawful powers. Unfortunately, his lordship was at a great distance ; and most of my other noble friends were out of the way. I, therefore, resolved on a bold stroke ; and authorised, only, by a knowledge of the sentiments of the persons in question, I entered the Convention on the first day of its meeting, and there delivered that message to Lord Charlemont, of which you have seen so full an account ; and confirmed the same the Friday following, having obtained permission to address the assembly.*

* In all the public printed reports of this transaction, there is no mention made of Sir B. Roche. Mr. George Ogle is the gentleman who is stated to have delivered the message, and afterwards to have made the explanation.

“ At first, I was elated to the greatest degree at the apparent success of my undertaking. I found that I had entirely disconcerted the measures of the leaders of the Convention ; and though I was disavowed by the Roman catholic committee, I received the thanks of many of my noble friends. I was applauded by the lord lieutenant, the secretary, and all the men in power ; and I found by their discourse, that there was nothing consistent with the constitution, that the Roman catholics, for the sake of Lord Kenmare and his friends, might not expect from parliament.

“ But unhappily, the clamour of the deluded populace induced his lordship to disown me. I cannot blame him—he had, in strictness, a right to do so. This made me miserable, not only because I had displeased him, but because I feared that he and the rest of the catholics had by this means forfeited the advantages I had obtained for them : however, in these mortifying circumstances, it was still a consolation to me to find that his lordship, in the very words of his disavowal, had acknowledged the same sentiments I had declared in his name ; and as I know he and

his friends still adhere to the same moderate opinions and wishes, I flatter myself that their wisdom will prevail over the deluded multitude, and that government will, for their sake, farther extend its indulgences to the whole body ; especially if the heads of the sect could be induced, on the arrival of a new lord lieutenant, or on the establishment of the present one, to join in an address, not only of loyalty to the king, but of attachment to the present constitution, without *innovation*.

“ It would be flattering in the highest degree to me, if I should find that my conduct was not disapproved by yourself and friends, and that you joined me in opinion, that it is to the parliament alone that the Roman catholics should apply for future favors ; and as I have again the honor to be a member of that assembly, my endeavors shall be at all times, as before, exerted in their behalf, and I hope not without success.

“ I have the honor to be,

“ my dear Sir,

“ your very obedient,

“ humble servant,

“ Castle of Dublin,

“ 14th Feb. 1784.

“ B. ROCHE.”

That this letter was dictated by the Irish ministry, and not the effusion of Sir Boyle Roche's political speculations, will be readily admitted by those who recollect that individual's claims as a statesman or politician. To keep the catholics in a state of dependency and expectation, and to have them allured, by the hints and promises of the government, from giving the aid of their voice to the friends of popular freedom, was a system too long pursued in Ireland, and fatal in its consequences to the unity and welfare of the great body of the people. This system of deceit and treachery, which had commenced at an early period of the government of the country, triumphed at the consummation of the legislative union; and the continued bondage and degradation under which the catholics labour at the present hour, are the matured fruits of this detestable policy. In the history of these countries, there was never, perhaps, given a more striking justification of the remark, "that individuals generally learn from experience, a people seldom," than is to be found in the history of the Irish catholics. A jealous, irritated, and divided body, the

instruments or victims of successive state parties, they have been alternately deluded by hope and goaded by injustice. The confidence they had so often misplaced, they knew no longer where to repose: insult and despair lent arms of terror even to a few deluded individuals of that body, at a subsequent period of excited political ferment; but formidable indeed, and irresistible as is the justice of their cause, would have been the power and resentment of so mighty and so aggrieved a mass, had not that religion, which exposed them to persecution, controlled their feelings, and taught them to resist every incitement to violence and insurrection.* Such were the catholics of

* The Irish rebellion, in 1798, was a struggle for the introduction of the principles of the French revolution, made by men who cared little for religion, under whatever denomination it appeared. The principal leaders and fomenters of that memorable insurrection were presbyterians and protestants; and the lower orders of the catholics were induced to rank under their banners by promises of a more equitable government, uncontrolled liberty of religious worship, release from the tyranny of the Orangemen, and an immunity from the grinding effects of the tithe system. It is easy to conceive how, with topics of such popular hatred, an ardent and oppressed people could be excited to join in any measure leading to such results. There was nothing of a reli-

Ireland at that time : such, with little alteration, have they continued to be : the lessons of experience have been effaced, the voice of prudence unheeded, and they remain now, as then, seeking relief more from the patronacy of ambitious statesmen, than from the union, firmness, and perseverance of their own body. At the early period of concession, they were indebted for success more to the influence of their wealth, than to a consideration of the justice of their cause : to check, or rather to anticipate a rising revolutionary spirit, was at an after time a motive with the Irish government ; and the benevolent recommendation of a humane and just monarch, whose name the catholics must ever pronounce with veneration and gratitude, was what gave life and success to the last legislative enactment in their behalf. The just-

gious nature in the objects contemplated by the revolutionists. The truth is, had it been a rebellion originating with the catholics as such, or justified by the morality of their doctrines, it must have been successful. Its failure is the best evidence that it was not a catholic revolution ; and if proof were necessary how abhorrent its principles were to the religion of that body, it would be found in the exhortations and conduct of their clergy at the time.

ness of their claims, the wisdom of the senate, and the paternal regard of a great king for his people, are the security on which their hopes of speedy redemption from undeserved political slavery now rest.

Shortly after the publication of the volume of his tracts, and during his visit in Dublin, O'Leary was waited on by a gentleman in the confidence of the ministry ; who, after some general praise of his merits as a writer, and an acknowledgment on the part of the government, that much good to the country had followed from his various productions, intimated a wish that he should write something in defence of the measures then acted on by the administration. This was met by a plain and unhesitating refusal. It was then intimated that his silence would be agreeable to ministers. " I never will be silent," replied O'Leary, with warmth, " whilst my exertions can be of the least service to my country or my religion." He was then told that a pension of £150 per annum was to be offered for his acceptance ; and that no condition, repugnant to his feelings as an Irishman or catholic, was to be annexed to

it. A change in the administration took place shortly afterwards ; and the promise remained unfulfilled.

O'Leary was anxiously solicited, at this period, to write a history of the disgraceful London riots under Lord George Gordon. For a short time he entertained the notion of doing so ; and had even collected some materials for the purpose, when he suddenly gave up the intention. The following is the short statement which he put forward in justification of his conduct :
 “ Several persons requested I would give a history of the London riots : I promised to undertake the task ; and in consequence began to digest my materials. I afterwards reflected that the duty of the historian bound him to arraign, at the impartial tribunal of truth, both men and actions ; unmask the leading characters ; examine into their motives ; lay open the hidden springs of proceedings, whether worthy of applause or deserving to be doomed to censure ; embellish his narrative with suitable reflections ; and, by spreading the wide theatre, without respect of time or persons, inform the living, and become the monitor

of the unborn. I afterwards considered my own state exposed, in consequence of the penal laws, to the insult of every ruffian ; and, comparing the defenceless situation of the priest with the duty of the historian, I dropped the attempt.

“ No person is obliged to write a history ; but when he writes it, he must tell the truth : and when he tells the truth in talking of the living, it is hard to avoid giving offence.

“ If my correspondents be not satisfied with this apology, let them point out a method whereby I can remove the difficulty ; and I shall publish a history of the riots in London itself, with my name to it ; for I disclaim ‘ anonymous productions.’ *”

* The following ludicrous circumstance was related to the present writer by a gentleman of veracity, who was himself a sufferer by the fanaticism of the “ Protestant Association.” An Italian, who had come to London for purposes of trade, and whose notions of an English mob were not much tempered by common sense or experience, was anxious, during the heat of the riots, to get safe to his lodging from a distant part of the city ; but as he feared lest his being a catholic and his ignorance of the English language should subject him to insult, if not to a chance of being knocked down, he prevailed with an acquaintance of his to teach him some

In all the persecutions which the catholic clergy of Ireland had to endure, the religious orders, or, as commonly called, the friars, were peculiarly distinguished. In the acts of parliament and proclamations against *popery*, their title of *popish regulars* closely followed the terrific name of *Jesuits*; and, even when it was proposed to register the clergy of the kingdom, as a measure of state precaution and apparent indulgence,

vulgar and popular denunciation of *popery*. After some very successful repetitions of this *pass word*, he ventured into the streets. He had not, however, proceeded a hundred yards on his way, when he perceived eight or ten athletic fellows, armed with bludgeons, and apparently under the influence of intoxication, coming towards him. These he guessed to be members of Lord G. Gordon's association; and, of course, he immediately took off his hat, waved it in the air, and vociferated, in a painful screech, "*Damn the Pope and popery.*" His uncovered head was too tempting an object not to attract the leader of the party, (which consisted of Irish chairmen, who, taking courage from despair, and who, fully charged with gin, had sallied forth, the devoted champions of *Pope and popery*); a blow of a cudgel felled the recreant to the earth, which was quickly followed by others, at every effort of "*Damnation,*" till their victim was rescued from his assailants by an Irish gentleman, to whom he was fortunately known; and whose influence with his infuriate countrymen probably saved the life of his Italian friend.

the regulars were pointedly and distinctly excluded. The feeling that dictated these measures, was not confined to the early enemies of the catholics ; for, in more recent instances the legislature expressed their fears of the increase of friars in the kingdom ; and even seriously contemplated their exclusion from any participation in the favors which it was intended to hold out to the catholic body at large. For these proceedings and prejudices many causes were stated. By the privileges and immunities from episcopal jurisdiction, which it was always in the power and frequently the practice of the holy see to extend to the *friars* ; and also by their vows of obedience, it was argued, that they were more under the dominion of what was termed *foreign influence*, than the secular clergy of the kingdom — in a word, that the opposition given to the test oath by some of the regulars, and particularly by Dr. Burke, as has already been seen, and the reluctance of the great body of friars to take it, were symptoms of a very unaccommodating spirit in that class, and not very creditable either to their loyalty

or temper. It was no task of difficulty to answer satisfactorily these insinuations. Their obedience to the church in the person of their religious superior was not a temporal submission that sought to interfere, in even the slightest degree, with their allegiance to the state : it was of purely a spiritual nature, and, by no means, connected with their duty as loyal and peaceful citizens. With regard to the test oath, its ablest defender was found amongst their body, in the person of O'Leary ; and the best proof which they could give of their condemnation of Dr. Burke's political opinions, was apparent in their having generally taken the oath of allegiance themselves, and recommended the same, by every means in their power, to those over whom they had either influence or control.

Notwithstanding these evidences of the falsity of the insinuations against the peaceful and loyal principles and demeanor of the *friars*, the evils which formerly threatened them revived, with renewed energies, in 1779 ; and in the heads of a bill

which was sought to be introduced into parliament, their destruction was pointedly aimed at. The first intelligence of the measure came to the religious orders through O'Leary ; and they were in consequence filled with consternation and dismay. As a body, they had no recognized existence in the country ; and few, if any, of the members of the legislature were known to them by private friendship. In these critical and appalling circumstances, their only hope rested in the influence, weight, and regard which their " brother " O'Leary every where, and amongst all classes of his countrymen, deservedly possessed. In compliance with their wishes he visited Dublin, and was as successful in his endeavors as could be desired. * The fol-

* During his visit to Dublin, at this period, the following circumstance, quite characteristic of O'Leary, is said to have taken place. He accidentally met, in the lobby of the House of Commons, the late Lord Avonmore, then Mr. Yelverton, and two gentlemen, members of the legislature ; who, on his appearance, entered into a friendly altercation to determine with which of them O'Leary should, on the next day, share the splendid hospitality which reigned in the metropolis during the sessions of parliament. It was at length decided, that the prize of

lowing letter, which he wrote at that time to as worthy a man as ever lived, the late *very Reverend Lawrence Callanan* of Cork, will give some notion of what his views and opinions on this subject were. No change has been made in any part of this honest, sincere, and unaffected effusion of his pen. It was written for private, but it is not undeserving of public perusal.

his unrivalled wit and sociability should be determined by lot. O'Leary was an amused and silent spectator of the contest. The fortunate winner was congratulated on his success; and the rivals separated to meet on the morrow. When the hour of dinner was come, O'Leary forgot which of his three friends was to be his host. It was too late to make formal inquiries; and, as he was the honored guest, he dared not absent himself. In this difficulty, his ready imagination suggested an expedient. His friends, he recollected, lived in the same square, and he therefore, some short time after the usual dinner hour, sent a servant to inquire at each of the houses, "If Father O'Leary was there?" At the two first, where application was made, the reply was in the negative; but at the last, the porter answered, that "He was not there; but that dinner was ordered to be kept back, as he was every moment expected." Thus directed, "Father Arthur's" apology for delay was a humorous and detailed account of his expedient: the evening flew quickly away on the wings of eloquence and wit, and the laughable incident was long remembered, and frequently repeated, by the noble lord and his guests.

(To the Rev. Lawrence Callanan, Broad Lane, Cork.)

“ Rev. Sir, Dublin, April 1st, 1780.

“ I am in no great humor to write to Cork, after the gross insult which has been offered me. A sheepish modesty and ill-timed delicacy, wrested out of my hands the arms of retaliation, which long ere now would have been turned against their proper objects, if the honor of religion did not suppress in my breast those emotions so natural to an injured man. Another cause of my past silence and present discontent, is the deep stab given to my character in proclaiming that I came hither to renounce a religion for which I am ready to spill my blood, and which I always vindicated from the foul aspersions of its enemies, whilst others were enjoying the emoluments annexed to the ministry. If a poor friar, buried between salt houses and stables*,

* This is literally a description of the situation which O’Leary’s chapel occupies. Its neighbourhood has, latterly, become more decent, and less objectionable. Yet it was the theatre of his earliest exertions in behalf of religion, in his native country; the retirement where he planned and executed some of his ablest works, and where he indulged in a happy and peaceful retirement

and poring over his books in the city of Cork, has been, on his arrival in the metropolis of the kingdom, caressed by all ranks of people, and admitted into the intimate society of Reverend Protestant Doctors, and the most eminent characters who shine in the senate, what evil could arise therefrom to his religion or its professors? Or is it a sufficient plea for traducing him as an apostate from the faith of his fathers*? Such, notwithstanding, is the rumour that prevailed in your city as well as in Waterford, if I am not misinformed by gentlemen who spent some time in both places, and who were surprised to see me *bless myself* at table in Dublin. But let the din of calumny die away with the tongues that sounded it; and let us pass to a point of more importance than the injured character of an individual.

from the world, which was the boast of his after life; and a renewal of which formed, perhaps, the last wish, connected with home, that lingered in his memory.

* A report, equally groundless and insidious, was circulated at this time, that O'Leary intended speedily to shake off his *habit*, and assume the more graceful *cassock* of the established church. His letter is an answer to the calumny.

“ The storm that is ready to burst over the heads of the *regular clergy*, has been gathering these two years past ; and let the blame lie at your own doors, if you resemble a *Jonas* plunged in his slumbers, whilst the lot is casting to throw him overboard. It is to be presumed, that the catholic gentlemen of your part of the world have too much candor, and too great a regard for the honour of religion, to blame a part of their ministers, for using every precaution that prudence can suggest, in order to avert the danger with which they are threatened. It reflects no honor on their religion, nor on us, to have the characters of ecclesiastics lacerated and torn by virulent declamations in a protestant senate, and painted in the high colourings, of rebels to the state, nuisances to the public, and papal spies ; which will be the language used when debates will ensue on the propriety or impropriety of banishing the regular clergy, or dissolving their institutions, by transferring their obedience from their own superiors to others, and decreeing, that after the decease of the present generation no more of them shall be admitted into the kingdom,

which is the purport of the bill—the more dangerous as the roughness of its features is softened by the air of lenity shewn to the secular clergy—the more dangerous, as the person who is to introduce it will not lay it before the committee of the catholic laity, nor even before that of the bishops.

“ It will take its rise in the House of Lords. The mine is already worked ; but we cannot yet discover the hand that is to give it vent. It may possibly take its origin in the Commons ; but in whichever of the two the scene is to be exhibited, the play will be the more disagreeable to us, as the characters have it in rehearsal this long time past, and really imagine that they will speak the sentiments of the majority of the catholics, in giving full scope to their own prejudices against persons whom, from the principles of their religion, they were taught to view in inverted attitudes.

“ Some of the members themselves make no secret of what you have heretofore deemed a phantom ; and Mr. Dillon, a sanguine advocate for the Roman catholics, told me the whole affair last Easter Sunday, in presence of Robert Caldwell, Esq., father

to the two young ladies in the Louth Nunnery. He was kind enough to tell me, that as for my part, I had nothing to fear; that I had gained the affection of the head protestants of the kingdom, &c. ; but that the friars were an obnoxious set of men, who must be either removed, or put under the control of the bishops during the lives of the present generation, with absolute prohibition to admit any more of them. What astonished me most, was this gentleman's eagerness to promote the welfare of the catholics in general, his particular friendship for me, but still, his unshaken resolution to co-operate in the plan for the destruction of the religious orders. I thanked him for his civility towards me; but declared that I would either stand or fall with my brethren, who must have been misrepresented to him : I pointed out to him the example of Great Britain, and the protestant powers of the continent, who extend the protection of the laws to the *regulars* as well as *seculars*. I told him that we were of use to the people, without being any incumbrance to the public, whereas we live upon little, and that this little is got

without compulsion: that protestant magistrates have no room to complain of us: they do not contribute to our support; nor even catholics, as it lies at their option either to give or refuse: that a vow of leading a poorer life should never expose a clergyman to the censure or animadversion of the laws, as the clergy are never more exposed to the censure of their flocks than when they seek to lead a pampered life, and to accumulate riches: and that, in extending his views to future times, and prohibiting any more regulars, he only fabricated chains for religious liberty, and hindered man from serving God in the manner he would think more acceptable to him. I argued without persuading, and retired without convincing him.

“ Two of the members in whom I could repose an entire confidence, were consulted as to the plan we should adopt. They advised, 1st. That immediate application be made to all the catholic bishops for their signatures in favor of our usefulness to the public: the same application to be made to the most respectable of the catholic laity, wherever we have establishments.

2dly. That a short memorial be printed, and copies of it given to every member in both houses, in order to prevent the bill from being introduced, if possible ; or, if it be introduced, to point out the ground on which our friends (if any should speak in our favor) may go. These resolutions have been adopted in a meeting of the *regular* superiors in Dublin ; and I am ordered to forward them to you and the other superiors in your city, as they are forwarded to all other cities where we have convents. You are then, immediately, to convene the regular superiors of Cork, who are to send two, or as many as they think fit, in their names, to Dr. Butler, for his signature to the following attestation.

“ We certify that the regular clergy are useful to the public by their instructions, and by instilling the principles of good morals ; and, therefore, think them worthy of being protected in their own institutions.

“ You are to transmit the same to the Bishops of Cloyne and Kerry, and get two gentlemen to procure the signatures of the laity. Let the application be made to the

bishops, whether they sign or not, for reasons too obvious to mention. I waited yesterday morning on Lord Kenmare, who approves of the plan suggested by the two gentlemen above alluded to. To-morrow the superiors are to wait on *Dr. Carpenter*.

“ I repeat it again, no bill relative to the regulars is to appear before any of the committees; therefore, be not lulled asleep; but proceed immediately, and let the signatures of the citizens of Cork be on a fine skin of parchment, and your answer immediately addressed to us.

“ Yours, &c.

“ ARTHUR O'LEARY.

“ *A private hint.*—*Sir Lucius O'Brien* waited two days ago on *Dr. Carpenter*, with the joyous tidings that the *friars* are to be expelled. He had not the charity to give us information. It is needless that *Mr. Barry* should write to *Mr. Yelverton*, to whom I explained the whole affair yesterday at his house, where I dined. Lord Kenmare promised to introduce me to the Speaker when he returns from England.

The protestant Archbishop of Cashel, after reading the 'Remarks on Wesley's letter,' notified to Dr. Jebb his desire of seeing me. 'It is not' said he, 'that he is a priest or friar; but I like his benevolent and philosophical turn.' Lord Kenmare desired me to get myself introduced to him, and to cultivate his acquaintance. Doctor Campbell and I met several times lately, when I expostulated with him on the injury done by his writings to the *regulars*. He told me he got the information from the parish priest of Clogher."

How successful soever the exertions of O'Leary and his friends were in 1780, in warding off the evils that threatened the existence of the *religious orders* in Ireland, the danger returned, with renewed terrors, in two years afterwards. A clause was introduced into the catholic bill of 1782, which regulated that the friars in the country, at the passing of the act, should become entitled to the benefits which it conferred, on their taking the oath of allegiance within a specified time; but no succession of *regulars* should be admitted, nor any more of them become entitled to immunity from

the severities formerly decreed against them. In these critical and appalling circumstances, it was to the virtues and character of O'Leary that the friars were indebted for the defeat of this destructive measure. When the objectionable clause came under the consideration of the House of Commons, on the 26th February 1782, the following interesting debate took place:

“ Sir Lucius O'Brien said, he did not approve of the regulars, though his candour must acknowledge that many men amongst them have displayed great abilities. Ganganelli (Clement XIV.) and the Reverend Doctor Arthur O'Leary, are distinguished among the Franciscans; and many great men have been produced in the Benedictine order. He saw no temptation that regulars had for coming here, if it was not to abandon certain competence where they were, for certain poverty in this kingdom.

“ Mr. Grattan said, he could not hear the name of Father O'Leary mentioned without paying him that tribute of acknowledgment so justly due to his merit. At the time that this very man lay under

the censure of a law which, in his own country, made him subject to transportation or death, from religious distinctions; and at the time that a prince of his own religion threatened this country with an invasion, this respectable character took up his pen, and unsolicited, and without a motive but that of real patriotism, to urge his own communion to a disposition of peace, and to support the law which had sentenced him to transportation. A man of learning—a philosopher—a Franciscan—did the most eminent service to his country, in the hour of its greatest danger. He brought out a publication that would do honor to the most celebrated name. The whole kingdom must bear witness to its effect, by the reception they gave it. Poor in every thing but genius and philosophy, he had no property at stake, no family to fear for; but descending from the contemplation of wisdom, and abandoning the ornaments of fancy, he humanely undertook the task of conveying duty and instruction to the lowest class of the people. ‘If I did not know him,’ continued Mr. Grattan, ‘to be a Christian clergyman, I should suppose

him by his works, to be a philosopher of the Augustine age.' The regulars are a harmless body of men, and should not be disturbed.

“ Mr. St. George declared, notwithstanding his determined opposition to the regulars, he would, for the sake of one exalted character of their body, be tolerant to the rest. But he, at the same time, would uniformly oppose the tolerating any more regular clergy than what were at present in the kingdom.

“ Mr. Yelverton said, that he was proud to call such a man, as Dr. O'Leary, his particular friend. His works might be placed upon a footing with the finest writers of the age. They originated from the urbanity of the heart; because, unattached to the world's affairs, he could have none but the purest motives of rendering service to the cause of morality and his country. Had he not imbibed every sentiment of toleration before he knew Father O'Leary, he should be proud to adopt sentiments of toleration from him. He should yield to the sense of the committee in respect to the limitation of regulars; because, he

believed, no invitation which could be held out would bring over another O'Leary."

In a more advanced stage of the catholic bill, on the 5th of March, these eulogies gave rise to some words between "the rival orators," as Messrs. Flood and Grattan were then designated in parliament. "I am not," said Flood, towards the end of a speech, "the missionary of a religion I do not profess; nor do I speak eulogies on characters I will not imitate." No challenge of this nature ever was given by either of these great men in vain. Mr. Grattan spoke at some length to the subject under debate; and concluded in these words: "Now, one word respecting Dr. O'Leary;" to whom the house readily applied what had fallen from Mr. Flood; "something has been said about eulogies pronounced, and missionaries of religion. I am not ashamed of the part which I took in that gentleman's panegyric; nor shall I ever think it a disgrace to pay the tribute of praise to the philosopher and the virtuous man."*

* It may not, perhaps, be generally known, that Mr. Grattan's first vote in parliament, on any question of importance, was against the catholics. "There is a

Whilst deserved praise was thus paying in the metropolis to O'Leary, and whilst the ablest statesmen and orators, that adorned the most brilliant era of Ireland's legislative existence, made the walls of the senate resound with his eulogy, his merits were not overlooked in the less splendid, but more valuable and endearing, circle of his own domestic friends in Cork. An amicable association had been formed in that city, composed of a number of the most respectable inhabitants, for the promotion of liberality and toleration ; and, as a permanent mark of their appreciation of O'Leary's advocacy of these invaluable blessings, they presented him with a rich gold medal. On this memorial of their regard Father O'Leary is represented, in the habit of his order, crushing with his right foot the hydra of religious persecu-

young man got into parliament," said the late Lord Tyrrawley, at Lord Kenmare's table, in Killarney, in 1779, " of the name of Grattan. He is sent in by Lord Charlemont ; and, at the desire of his patron, voted against you ;—but, in future, you will have him with you ; and he will be a powerful champion in your cause." Few predictions regarding political conduct were ever more exactly fulfilled.

tion : with his right hand he opens the gates of the temple of concord ; whilst, with his left, he beckons his countrymen (emblematically represented by the harp), to enter the sacred edifice, forgetful of their prejudices against each other. The genius of his country is represented with extended arms, each bearing a crown — the one of science — the other of victory, over his head ; the motto under, “ *Utraque dignus ;*” and on the edge, “ *Diram qui contudit hydram :*” on the reverse is the following inscription, “ To the Rev. A. O’Leary, who taught Irishmen, that, however they may be divided in speculative points of religion, Christian charity and generous friendship should be borne by all to all. The Cork amicable society presented this medal, A.D. 1784.”*

* The exercise of O’Leary’s private benevolence was bounded only by the deficiency of means to afford relief. I am informed by Bishop Murphy, (in whose amiable and religious family many happy hours of O’Leary’s life, in Cork, were passed), that, when a mere youth, he was frequently his (O’Leary’s) almoner ; and that a number of reduced room-keepers and tradesmen were, on every Monday morning, relieved by the good friar. The general average of his weekly charity amounted to *two*, sometimes *three* pounds. The unostentatious exercise of

From the publication of "The plea for liberty of conscience," till 1786, no production, of any moment, came from O'Leary's pen. In this latter year, he appeared before the public in his "Review of the important controversy between Dr. Carroll and the Rev. Messrs. Wharton and Hawkins ; including a defence of the conduct of Pope Clement XIV. (Ganganelli) in suppressing a late religious order. By the Rev. Arthur O'Leary." This controversy was a subject of some interest at the time ; and took its rise from the conversion to the established church of the two gentlemen above-named, Messrs. Wharton and Hawkins. One of them had, for some time, laboured under the marked censure of his religious superiors ; and it was more than insinuated, that the other had previously dispensed with the obligation of his vow of celibacy. Their new-born zeal was not long inactive. They probably felt that, circumstanced as they

benevolence is one of its most interesting traits ; and, when it is recollected that the poor Capuchin had no income, except what was derived from the contributions of those who frequented his chapel, the charitable disposition of his heart and mind will be duly appreciated.

were, a justification of their conduct would be acceptable to the public; and they thought perhaps, moreover, that the earlier and more boldly they commenced the work of crimination against the body to which they had formerly belonged, the more innocuous would be the tale of scandal, which had begun, already, to excite a murmur amongst the more moral portion of those, from whom they had sought sanctuary. The apologies of the twin *reformers* were replied to by Dr. *Carroll*, a venerable member of *the society of Jesus*; one of those few men who retain, in the decline of life, the unbroken energies of youth, and who carry with them into public, the virtues and wisdom of the cloister.* A friend, who wished to learn O'Leary's opinion of the

* Dr. *John Carroll* was the first catholic bishop consecrated for the united states of America. The *bulls* of his nomination are dated Nov. 6, 1789. He was consecrated Bishop of Baltimore, on the 15th of August 1790, at Lulworth Castle, the splendid seat of Thomas Weld, Esq. His consecrating bishop was the holy and learned Dr. *Walmesley*, one of the English vicars apostolic. Baltimore was, in some few years afterwards, raised to an archiepiscopal see; under the auspices of which, the number of new dioceses is daily increasing, and the catholic religion extending its influence over the vast continent of the new world.

controversy, sent him the publications on both sides ; and requested his judgment on them. In compliance with this desire, he drew up the "Review, &c." This book was printed at London in 1786 ; and has lost so little of its interest, that it will be read with as high a gratification at the present hour, as it could have been on the day of its first appearance.

In Dr. Carroll's pamphlet, he had ventured upon some statements connected with the suppression of the religious society of the Jesuits, to which he had belonged ; and with an excusable indignation he arraigned the motives of one of the converts who had, likewise, been a disciple of *Ignatius*. Having once touched on "the claims of his order," Dr. Carroll's sympathies were too much alive, not to bleed anew at a recollection of the wounds inflicted on them by the Pope Clement XIV. Under the influence of these feelings, he sketched the character of that Pontiff with too hasty a pencil. The representation was more the dictate of ardent feeling than of impartial justice ; and the epithets "artful" and "designing," applied to one of the most

amiable men that ever filled the chair of St. Peter, sounded in O'Leary's ears, harsh and undeserved. Hence, he came forward to vindicate his "brother Franciscan," Ganganelli; and, finding that the suppression of the Jesuits was, by Doctor Carroll, imputed to "sinister views," on the part of the holy father, he entered, at some length, into a refutation of the charge. The following are the causes to which O'Leary imputes the suppression of that learned and distinguished body.

"The dissolution of the Jesuits," says O'Leary, "was owing to their influence, which rendered them objects of envy to artful ministers of state, whose ambitious projects they often controlled, as directors of monarchs and members of their spiritual councils. It was owing to the expectation of immense wealth, with which kings themselves were flattered by the abolition of the order. Again; contrary to the ordinary course of things, what was most likely to give permanency to the order, was the very cause of the downfall of the Jesuits, viz. their great credit, power, and authority. They have literally verified the remark of

Tacitus, sinistra erga eminentes interpretatio, nec minus periculum ex magna fama quam ex mala."

To these causes O'Leary might have added others, which, though not equally apparent at the time when he wrote, had much influence in effecting the extinction of the Jesuits. The Jansenists in France, and the infidels who then swarmed in every court in Europe, were the sworn and inveterate foes of the only religious order that excelled the former in ecclesiastical, and the latter in philosophical, literary, and political science. The ruin of Port Royal was as disastrous to the victors as to the conquered; and with intrepid enmity the disciples of Pascal and Arnaud, under the semblance of a holy zeal for religion, charged the followers of Ignatius with the dissemination of principles destructive of morality, and bringing into danger the safety of the throne and the welfare of the people. The conclusions which a discerning prudence hindered the Jansenists from deducing from these premises, the Atheists hesitated not to exhibit in the warmest colourings of eloquent declamation; and

whilst the literary world was amused by tales of calumny and falsehood against the Jesuits, the political theatre was darkened and disturbed by the intrigues and enmities of unprincipled statesmen. The extinction of the order was said to be the only remedy for the thousand imputed evils, which rancour and prejudice associated in awful foreboding with its longer existence. The church was said to be threatened with ruin by their doctrine of *probabilism*, and their exemption from, and enmity to, episcopal jurisdiction : the state was endangered by their political intrigues and their republican notions* : private life was distracted by their intermeddling : the administration of justice was corrupted by their fanaticism ; and, by their wealth and ambition, they were secretly realizing an extensive, powerful, and rich empire beyond the control of European policy, and likely to become formidable to the peace,

* The Jesuits were amongst the first and ablest asserters of the superiority of representative governments to any other ; and their advocacy of the principles of true political science was branded by their enemies with the appellation of republicanism.

welfare, and commerce of the various countries in which they were suffered to exist.

It was impossible for the men against whom these charges were made—and made too under the sanction of the most powerful statesmen in Europe—long to brave the storm which was excited against them. They fell; but it was amidst the deep regrets of every good and pious mind, and the loud complaints of every friend to literature and the sciences. We can now calmly look back at the times when crimes like the above were urged against the Jesuits; and the only feelings that can agitate our minds are, astonishment at the hardihood of the persons who were their accusers, and pity, mixed with contempt, for the credulity which swallowed falsehoods so gross, and calumnies so unfounded.

To the present holy and magnanimous Pontiff, Pius VII., is the Christian world indebted for the revival of this learned and celebrated order. It has arisen from its ashes with renewed splendors, vindicated from the misrepresentations of politicians,

and confirmed by the suffrage of every discerning mind in its claims to extraordinary piety, profound and varied learning, love for science, and, above all, an unextinguishable ambition to extend the kingdom of God amongst mankind.*

In this "Review" O'Leary gives way to his archness and wit; and his success in their application is, as usual, complete. The course generally pursued by apostate priests is thus correctly and humorously painted: "In the beginning of their apologies or justifications, they affect the serious solemnity of a tragic writer, by painting in sable colours the miseries that attend our subjection to authority: the misfortunes of the noble soul shackled in the fetters of obedience to pastors, 'like a fair Zenobia in

* Of the missionary spirit, for which the Jesuits were so remarkable, the present writer has interesting and abundant evidence, in the original letters of some members of the order, written from China during the middle of the last century. The afflictions with which the Portuguese Jesuits were overwhelmed, and the meek patience which enabled them to endure the most appalling and undeserved privations, are recorded in terms of deep anguish in a letter, also in the present writer's possession, from Laurence Kaunitz, one of the sufferers in the castle of St. Julien.

the chains of a tyrant.' Our uncharitableness is arraigned, in excluding from eternal bliss and consigning to perdition Christians of every description, except ourselves. These are serious themes, and of so affecting a nature as to enable a poet of moderate genius to work up a tolerable religious tragedy, were it now the custom, as in the 14th century, to exhibit such pieces on the stage, if, at the unravelling of the plot, they had not the effects of comedy, in exciting the laughter of the audience, when they come to know that all this solemn bustle is about *a wife!*"

Printed with the "Review," is "A letter from Candour to the Right Hon. Luke Gardiner, on his bill for a repeal of a part of the penal laws against the Irish catholics." This was written in 1779, and appeared in the newspapers of that time.

The angry themes of religious disputation were, through life, sedulously avoided by O'Leary. He never published anything professedly controversial. His sermons, as has already been noticed, frequently turned on points of religious belief and, in some of his writings, his vin-

dication of many of the doctrines and practices of the catholic church was equally learned and successful. Once, however, notwithstanding his declared aversion to polemics, he was led into its thorny ways. The circumstance was as follows:—Some time before he quitted Cork, he received a letter, through the post office; the writer of which, in terms expressive of the utmost anxiety, stated that he was a clergyman of the established church, on whose mind impressions favorable to the catholic creed had been made by some sermons of O'Leary's;—he was an enemy, he said, to angry controversy; but as a ray of light had broken in on his mind, he yielded to a conscientious impulse to seek further and fuller information on some articles of the catholic creed, than the course of his early education had permitted or enabled him to acquire. His name he forbore to reveal. O'Leary, who was ever alive to the claims of duty as well as humanity, replied in a manner perfectly satisfactory to his anonymous correspondent. Other doubts were expressed and dissipated; and, through a

series of eight or ten long letters, every point of difference between the catholic and protestant churches was urged, on the one hand, with the utmost force, and refuted by the other, in the ablest and most convincing manner. The triumphant controvertist had, in the joy of his heart, whispered the important secret, (a discovery of which subjected him, by the laws then in force, to transportation or death,) to a few ecclesiastical confidants; amongst whom was his bosom friend, the late Rev. Lawrence Callanan, a Franciscan friar, of Cork. Their congratulations and approbation were not wanting to urge forward the champion of orthodoxy. His arguments bore all before them:—even the obstacles arising from family and legal motives were disregarded by the enthusiastic convert; and he besought O'Leary to name a time and place at which he might lift the mysterious visor, by which he had, hitherto, been concealed; and, above all, have an opportunity afforded to him to express his sentiments of gratitude and veneration to his friend and teacher.

The appointed hour arrived:—O'Leary

arranged his orthodox wig; put on his Sunday suit of sables, and sallied forth in all the collected gravity of a man fully conscious of the novelty and responsibility of the matter in which he was engaged. He arrived at the appointed place of meeting some minutes after the fixed time—was told that a respectable clergyman awaited his arrival in an adjoining parlour—thither he goes, and finds seated at a table, with the entire correspondence before him, *his brother friar Callanan*. The joke in O'Leary's opinion was carried too far, and the subject was too serious to be trifled with; and it required the sacrifice of the correspondence, and the interference of mutual friends to effect a reconciliation. Any allusion to the matter afterwards he looked upon to be personally offensive; and it may be doubted whether his friendship for Mr. Callanan ever entirely recovered from the wound inflicted on it by this circumstance.

We have now arrived at the most remarkable æra in O'Leary's life, and have to review scenes in which he was a conspicuous actor, and the events of which

gave a new and unexpected colour to the current of his after years. This arose from the peculiar situation of the Irish peasantry at the time.

Few races of men have had more injustice done to them, or have been more the victims of every designing or unprincipled enemy of their country's welfare, than the peasantry of Ireland. Rendered, by the cruel policy of the "popery laws," ignorant and degraded—their ignorance and degradation have cast them down to the lowest rank of social beings. The sphere of their usefulness and homely ambition is so circumscribed; and they are so entirely debarred by the system of *middlemen*, so extensively prevalent in Ireland, from having their zeal for improvement noticed, or their extraordinary industry rewarded, by their natural protectors, that to end life where they began it, under the same wretched hut, and after having undeviatingly followed the same routine mode of tillage which was practised by their fathers, is the utmost boundary of their restricted hopes. The rents which they pay never keep pace with times or cir-

cumstances. Between the occupant, who labours the soil, and its proprietor, there are often two, and sometimes more, intermediate sharers in its produce ; and when to these claims is superadded the necessity of supporting the clergy of two churches, some idea may be formed of the chance of wealth, competency, and comfort of an Irish southern farmer. The tithe system, by which, not only the established church is supported in its splendor, but also a class of low, litigious, and unprincipled tyrants, (as the generality of tithe proctors are) is, in the eyes of the working peasant, oppressive, not merely because it too often affords a rich income to a non-resident clergyman, whom he never sees, but likewise and principally, because the entire weight of this heavy taxation falls exclusively upon his industry—his protestant landlord or middleman seldom employing his own lands in tillage, and, consequently, enjoying an exemption from the claims of the minister or the proctor.*

* It is far from the writer's intention to enter on the delicate question of a commutation of tithes, much less to excite angry controversy on a subject always found

They who suppose that a review of these details is unfrequent with the class of persons of whom we now speak, know very little of their character and dispositions. Gifted by nature with intellectual powers of a very superior order—distinguished by shrewdness, imagination, and quick discernment—they perceive, at a glance, the misery to which they are condemned; and hence, in moments of bitterness and despair, and too often at the instigation of unprincipled provincial politicians, they have been forced to acts of violence and personal outrage, which no lover of social order can countenance, nor the legislature permit with impunity.

Another source of frequent nocturnal riot and disturbance, was the insecure and limited tenure of lands, which the penal laws permitted to a catholic. Notwithstanding innumerable discouragements, his industry had, perhaps, rendered his little farm comfortable; but just as he began to

charged with inflammable matter. He only states facts—with the conclusions flowing from these facts he has nothing to do.

enjoy the humble contentment which it bestowed, his lease was expired ; he was expelled to make way for a new and more favored rival ; and he was, for ever, to be divorced from the scenes and fruits of his youthful labours and enjoyments. The budding hedge-row, the reclaimed bog, and the cultivated mountain, were to be left to a thankless stranger ; and he, whose industry had produced them, was to be turned abroad upon the world, unpitied and unrequited.* To deter landlords from

* The poetry of Goldsmith has finely worked up a scene of this sort, in the “ *Deserted Village*,”—one of the most simply beautiful compositions in the English language :

“ Good heavens ! what sorrows gloomed that parting
day,
That called them from their native walks away ;
When the poor exiles, every pleasure past,
Hung round their bowers, and fondly looked their
last ;
And took a long farewell, and wished in vain
For seats like these beyond the western main ;
And, shuddering still to face the distant deep,
Returned, and wept, and still returned to weep.
The good old sire the first prepared to go
To new found worlds, and wept for others woe.
But, for himself, in conscious virtue brave,
He only wished for worlds beyond the grave.

the exercise of the right of ejectment in such cases as these, and to punish the intruders of their choice, as well as to warn others of the dangers which awaited them, should they venture to treat for lands of the kind, were often the causes of illegal and tumultuous nightly assemblages of the peasantry; and when once engaged in a measure so violent and undefined, it was not easy to induce the association to dissolve, even after partial success had crowned their endeavours.

In the years 1785 and 1786, the county of Cork was disturbed by nightly mobs, under the guidance of a leader, who assumed the name of *Captain Right*. Their object, at first, was solely a regulation of the tithe system; but, after a short time,

His lovely daughter, lovelier in her tears,
 The fond companion of his helpless years,
 Silent, went next, neglectful of her charms,
 And left a lover's for a father's arms.
 With louder plaint the mother spoke her woes,
 And blest the cot where every pleasure rose;
 And kiss't her thoughtless babes, with many a tear,
 And clasped them close, in sorrow doubly dear:
 Whilst her fond husband strove to lend relief
 In all the silent manliness of grief."

their notions of reform embraced every subject of local œconomy, viz. — rents, taxation, the offerings made to the catholic clergy, &c. Their nightly visits were distinguished by acts of violence; and the persons and property, not of tithe proctors only, but likewise of the clergy of the catholic and established churches, were threatened with the infliction of signal vengeance. In these proceedings, the peasantry were more the instruments made use of by a few powerful individuals, for provincial political purposes, than the vindicators of their own wrongs; and, subsequently, their riots derived importance and deserve notice, more from the political speculations and the controversies to which they gave rise, than from any permanent consequences of which they were productive.

A recollection of the success which attended O'Leary's appeal to the lower orders of his countrymen, in 1779, led some persons to solicit his interference on the present occasion, for the promotion of peace and the restoration of order amongst the infatuated peasantry of his neighbour-

hood. He, accordingly, published three "addresses to the common people of Ireland, particularly such of them as are called White-boys;" in which, in a familiar, eloquent, and bold mode of reasoning, he demonstrated the folly, wickedness, and illegality of the conduct which they were pursuing. These bear date 18th and 21st of February, and 19th November 1786. His personal exertions were further solicited by some of the magistrates of the county: he accompanied them to different places of worship; exhorted the deluded people to obedience to the laws, and respect for religion; and was successful in persuading numbers of them to return to their industrious pursuits, and to quit the illegal and dangerous association to which they had belonged. By the indefatigable exertions of the Roman catholic bishops and clergy, and the efforts of the civil and military powers of the province, the riots were soon suppressed; but their evil consequences did not so easily disappear.

The clergy of the established church, who felt alarmed at the outcry against tithes, and the wishes generally expressed,

as well in as out of parliament, for a commutation of that unequal and injurious mode of taxation, soon came forward in defence of the ecclesiastical establishment of the country, which, they asserted, was in extreme danger from the open violence of the catholics on one side, and the insidious and crafty machinations of the dissenters on the other. They were led on to the warfare against these two classes of their fellow citizens by the late Doctor *Duignan*, who, under the signature of *Theophilus*, published a pamphlet, the style and sentiments of which were worthy the vulgar and hardy illiberality that always characterised that gentleman's public life. In this, O'Leary's name was introduced in the most disrespectful manner; his motives misrepresented, and his entire conduct, with regard to the riots, belied in language injurious, not only to him personally, but likewise to the interests of the Roman catholic body generally. The book was, however, from the undiguised bigotry, the coarse and vulgar malignity, and the false and calumnious statements which it contained, its own best corrective. Its

native claims, therefore, would never have given importance to this libel; and it would, in all probability, have been consigned to a merited oblivion, but for the authority given to it by Dr. Richard Woodward, the protestant bishop of Cloyne, in his "Present State of the Church of Ireland."

Notwithstanding the unwarranted and severe reflections on the catholic prelacy and their principles, contained in this work of Dr. Woodward's, he was, in private life, a man of humane and benevolent disposition; and he lived to regret, and, in some degree, to atone for the injury which his writings, at this period, inflicted on the catholic body.* Besides, as has been just

* In a better and more Christian spirit than what dictated the groundless severities contained in "The Present State of the Church of Ireland," the Bishop of Cloyne, in a subsequent publication, says, "It is incumbent on you (the clergy of his diocese) to keep up the most cordial intercourse with the Roman catholic clergy of your respective parishes, the better to effect the great object which you have in common, the promotion of piety, good morals, and public order and charity; and, by that example, to lead your parishioners to meet their Roman catholic neighbours, in the various departments into which they are now introduced, without discontent or

noticed, giving undeserved authority to the calumnious and offensive attacks of *Theophilus* against O'Leary and his fellow catholics; the Bishop of Cloyne in this publication affected to discover in the riots of the whiteboys a concerted system for the overthrow of the established church, and the extinction of the protestant religion in the kingdom. This conspiracy, according to his lordship, existed amongst the dissenters and the catholics—the for-

jealousy, for the better execution of the several branches of our internal policy: you should exhort them to do credit to their profession, by liberality of mind, allowing to the votaries of the Romish church, the same privilege of private judgment, which the founders of protestantism asserted for themselves when they separated from that communion. You should exhort them to contend with the Roman catholic, not for enmity, but emulation; to aim at superiority, not by reviling or undervaluing, but by excelling him, by being better citizens and better Christians. In this glorious contest, they who are thus contending for the prize, will not only improve themselves, but learn to love and to esteem each other;—to esteem their competitor the more for that very opposition which is dictated by zeal or religion, and conducted by its spirit.” p. 13 & 14 of *A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the diocese of Cloyne, at the ordinary visitation, on the 3d of July 1793, by Richard Lord Bishop of Cloyne; published at the request of the clergy, &c.*

mer "anxious to pull down all establishments, and the latter wishing to set up their own."

The proofs of the first part of this alarming assertion were, according to the bishop, found in the declared doctrines and sentiments of the Irish presbyterians, whom he stated "to differ essentially from their brethren of Geneva, Switzerland, Holland, Germany, and Scotland, as they (the Irish) reject the idea of any national church. They are independents," he adds, "in a rival view—they are presbyterians as to ecclesiastical discipline. Their principles do not, like those of the Roman catholics, tend to set up, but merely to pull down, an ecclesiastical establishment."

The alleged designs of the catholics were painted in colours more warm, and laid on with a bolder hand, than that which sketched the dissenting portion of the conspiracy. Their principles of old, it was alleged, were unequivocally expressed as essentially hostile to protestant governments; oaths could not bind them, nor could the moral dictates of conscience awe the professors of a creed, agreeably to the

dictates of which, “faith was not to be kept with heretics; and princes, excommunicated by the Pope, could be deposed and murdered by their subjects.” (p. 17, ninth edition.) These general and sweeping charges, notwithstanding their having been solemnly disclaimed upon oath, ten years before, by all the catholics of the kingdom, were unblushingly put forward by Doctor Woodward; and, with intrepid consistency, his lordship copied a coarse and calumnious passage from the ravings of *Theophilus*, in which the *whiteboys* are proclaimed to be “*a popish banditti, spirited up by agitating friars and Romish missionaries, sent hither on purpose to sow sedition.*” “His terms, as well as reasoning,” adds the bishop, “I leave to Theophilus to defend; observing only, that a strong conviction of the truth of apprehensions for the safety of religion will naturally excite a warmth, from which indifference is a sure exemption; and I leave it likewise to him to make good the assertion, that agitating friars and Romish missionaries have been sent here for the purpose of sowing sedition. But though I do not know on what

authority Theophilus speaks ; I can very well conceive, that he may think the letters of Mr. O'Leary *calculated* to sow sedition. I do not say that the Reverend author *intends*, much less that he is *sent hither on purpose* ; but in my poor opinion, which has, moreover, the sanction of every rational man with whom I conversed on the subject, his publications tend, and if such *were* his designs, are *most artfully contrived*, to produce that effect." *

The publication of Dr. Woodward's pamphlet produced a sensation in the country, and excited the attention of the legislature to a degree, which if his lordship contemplated as likely to follow from his statements, he must have armed himself in a fearlessness and indifference not very enviable indeed. His severest reflections referred to the catholics ; and they, of course, first entered the lists with him. The alarm and dismay, which prevailed amongst the catholic prelacy and clergy of Munster, upon whom it was sought to affix the charges of sedition and disloyalty,

* Present State, &c. p. 104. 9th edition.

can be easier conceived than expressed. Few persons ever gave less cause to suspect their allegiance, and regard for the public welfare, than they had; and to their exertions, principally, was it owing, that the riots had been so speedily and efficaciously suppressed. It was doubly painful to them, therefore, to have their body exhibited to the world, and by a prelate too of amiable manners and extensive influence, as enemies to the state from principle, and wanton promoters of public riot and disturbance. Dr. James Butler, the catholic Archbishop of Cashel, soon after the appearance of the offensive publication, addressed the following letter to the Bishop of Cloyne.

“ My Lord,

January 8th, 1787.

“ The unjust and uncharitable reflections your lordship has been pleased to cast upon the whole body of the Roman catholic prelates, were of too alarming a tendency, and too affecting to all my feelings, to suffer them to remain unnoticed, till a printed refutation of them would appear. Alive to every insinuation that can in the least tend to injure that indubitable title,

which, I am conscious to myself, I have, in common with the other Roman catholic prelates of the kingdom, to his majesty's protection, and to the confidence of my fellow subjects ; and held out, as I am in your lordship's pamphlet (from the rank I hold among the Roman catholic prelates of Munster), as the chief ringleader in the deep-laid plot your lordship has discovered against the *protestant interest* in this kingdom, I cannot but consider myself as personally called upon to tell you, in the most positive manner, that the facts on which you rest the whole of your attack on the catholic prelacy of Ireland, have either been most falsely understood, or strangely misrepresented by your lordship.

“ I have had the honor of imparting this circumstance to your metropolitan, in a visit I paid him, and of giving him some few of the many proofs which the printed refutation of your pamphlet will exhibit to the public of the truth of my assertion on this matter ; and it was no small consolation to me to learn from his grace, that he never had been consulted by you in the propriety of such a publication as your

pamphlet, and that he entirely agreed with me in opinion, that this was no time to put forward such reflections on an entire body of prelates, intrusted by the laws with so important and so extensive a care as we were. The friendship and regard which I have experienced from the archbishop ever since he came to Cashel, made me the more anxious to give every satisfaction to his grace's mind, and it pained me much to be under the necessity, in my own defence, to mention to him certain facts, which could not but depreciate in his eyes a character, which I was once willing to believe was the very pattern of benevolence and true Christian charity. Such, my lord, were, not long since, the sentiments I entertained of your conduct and character; and I therefore regret that you have put it out of my power (until such time as you shew a sense of the injustice you have done to me and to the Roman catholic prelates) to subscribe myself otherwise than,

“ JAMES BUTLER.”

“ To the

“ Right Rev. Dr. Woodward,

“ Lord Bishop of Cloyne,

“ &c. &c.

From Dr. Woodward to Dr. Butler.

“ Sir, Dublin, Jan. 13th, 1787.

“ On receiving your letter, which gave me equal surprise and concern, I reviewed my pamphlet attentively, and cannot find a single passage which conveys the most distant reflection on the Roman catholic prelates. I assure you most cordially, that nothing was further from my intention: and I am confident that no expression of mine can be construed, even by remote implication, to bear such a meaning. My metropolitan (to whom I communicated this letter) of whose able advice I should have been happy to avail myself had there been time, tells me, that when you were pleased to express your complaint of a personal attack on you and the Roman catholic bishops, he declared, that were there any such attack he must have read the pamphlet with great inattention, for he could discover nothing of the kind, and was persuaded that no personal reflections were intended. Having cleared myself of any general charge on your order, I beg leave to assure you sir, *personally*, that from my idea of *your* character, I had always thought

and spoken of you with particular respect. I flatter myself, therefore, that I shall be replaced in that good opinion which you profess to have once entertained of me, as I shall endeavour always to preserve that liberality towards those from whom I differ, which is perfectly consistent with zeal for what I think truth.

“ To the
 “ Rev. Dr. Butler,
 “ &c. &c.
 “ I have the honor to be,
 “ Sir,
 “ your most obedient,
 “ and most humble servant,
 “ RICHARD CLOYNE.”

From Dr. Butler to Dr. Woodward.

“ My Lord, Jan. 18th, 1787.

“ The surprise and concern your lordship experienced on receiving my letter, and your earnest assurances that nothing was further from your thoughts than to cast any reflection on the Roman catholic prelates of this kingdom, could not but afford me real satisfaction. Such a declaration from your lordship, accompanied as it was by the most flattering expression of personal regard for me, made me impatient to assure you of my most grateful sense of

your attention, and at the same time to account to you for any warmth of expression that might have appeared in my letter. In this particular, the vindication your lordship suggested for some most offensive expressions in *Theophilus*—a work you have so conspicuously patronized, will prove my best apology; for if true attachment to a cause forbids indifference when its best interests are attacked, could I, my lord, be expected to remain silent when the inference you draw from the nuncio's letter, and the oath taken by the catholic bishops, as they appear in your pamphlet, were looked upon by every one, even of your lordship's communion with whom I conversed, as levelled at our allegiance. In truth, the consciousness of what I owed to the sacred character I bear, could not permit me, under such circumstances, to continue longer silent; therefore I felt it my duty to intimate to your respectable metropolitan, my sense of the injury inflicted by you on the catholics, and to make known to your lordship, from whose heart I was unwilling to believe such reflection could have intentionally proceeded,

my feelings and those of the Roman catholic prelates of this province, on the subject.

“ Your letter assures me that your heart had no share in what your pamphlet was looked upon to hold forth, and I should injure the gratitude which such assurances are calculated to excite, were I to refuse my belief to the declaration.

“ But, my lord, whatever my personal satisfaction may be on the subject, the alarming impressions made on the public mind throughout the three kingdoms, remain still to be removed. This object will not be answered by your lordship's letter to me, for the multitude will only attend to the obvious sense of the words of your book, and they will surely be led to believe that your lordship really meant what appears to them so clearly expressed. Hence, my lord, for the purpose of anticipating or removing the unfavorable notions that may arise from your pamphlet, and to which our silence may give the sanction of truth, I found myself obliged to consent to the publication of a letter which I wrote to Lord Kenmare in the end of December, which conveyed to that nobleman facts

which go to contradict the injurious assertions contained in the pamphlet. Your letter has removed all personal debate between you and me, and has, I trust, revived that mutual esteem which formerly subsisted between us ; so all that appears in my printed letter will, I hope, be considered as by no means intended against the Right Rev. Author, but against the pamphlet which commits me with the public.

“ Again I repeat my hopes, that any warmth of expression which appeared in my former letter, will be ascribed by your lordship to zeal for my character, and for a religion whose tenets, as I cannot but be intimately acquainted with, so I am equally convinced, that if rightly understood, and faithfully adhered to, they cannot fail to form the subject, and perfect the Christian.

“ From the explanation given by your lordship, I am pleased to be enabled *now* to subscribe myself,

“ Your lordship’s

“ most obedient and

“ most humble servant,

“ and sincere well-wisher,

“ JAMES BUTLER.”

From Dr. Woodward to Dr. Butler.

“ Sir, Dublin, Jan. 23d, 1787.

“ I am happy to find that you are satisfied that no personality was intended (and I am sure there was none expressed) by me against you, or any of the Roman catholic bishops. I am confident too, that in a careful review of that part of my pamphlet in which they are mentioned, you will discover that nothing is *levelled at the sincerity of their allegiance*. My reasoning proceeds on the supposition of *any future* oath to secure the perpetual establishment of the protestant church in this kingdom.

“ Before I conclude I must beg leave to assure you, Sir, that the little warmth which appeared in your former letter is more than done away by the kind expressions in this; and being at first imputed to your zeal for your religious opinions, did by no means lessen the respect to good wishes with which I have the honor to be,

“ Sir,

“ Your most obedient and most

“ humble Servant,

“ To the

“ Rev. Dr. Butler, “RICHARD CLOYNE,”

“ &c. &c.

This correspondence was shortly followed by the publication of a thick pamphlet, entitled "*A justification of the tenets of the Roman catholic religion, and a refutation of the charges brought against its clergy by the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Cloyne. By Dr. James Butler.*" The appearance of this necessary vindication excited new controversy, in the course of which O'Leary's name was frequently introduced, and his writings and conduct severely and unmeritedly censured. He kept on, nevertheless, the steady "tenor of his way," his loyalty unshaken, his patriotism unsubdued, respected in public life, and in the circles of private society, the inexhaustible source of benevolence, innocent mirth, wit, and humor. That he was not an idle or indifferent spectator of a contest in which his conduct and motives were so freely and unsparingly canvassed may be easily supposed; and the following letters are the best evidences of the necessity which existed for his vindicating himself from the calumny which had been heaped on him.

Extract of a letter from Lord Viscount Kenmare to a Roman catholic bishop.

Dublin, Dec. 30th, 1786.

“ A most malicious pamphlet has lately been published here by Dr. Woodward, Bishop of Cloyne, at the close of which he attacks the letter of the Nuncio, at Brussels, to the late Dr. Fitzsimons, and the oath your bishops take at your consecration. The first to prove that those of our persuasion are not bound by oath to heretics, and that the bishops swear to *persecute* (as he translates *persequor*) all those that differ from our church. He ends with violent strictures against O’Leary’s late letters, which he garbles. The commonplace of most of it, I think, deserves more contempt than refutation. I am much mistaken in O’Leary if his stricture on the bishop do not produce a paper war; and if he engage in it, I sincerely wish he may do it with temper. Most people here blame the bishop for attempting to sow discord amongst the professors of the three principal religions.”

In a letter of the same date from the

Hon. Valentine Browne, afterwards Earl Kenmare, the following passage occurs ;
 “ I suppose you have seen the Bishop of Cloyne’s pamphlet ? I hardly think Father O’Leary, whom he abuses most egregiously and unjustly, will let it pass without a reply. The whole of what relates to us and the dissenters is extremely illiberal. He was rather afraid to abuse the latter openly ; but as to us, he has done so *sans ménagement* ; in which I believe he is very sincere, and only expresses what most of his brethren think.”
 The following is a more interesting and valuable detail of the state of the public mind at the time, regarding the *Cloyne* controversy.

Letter from Viscount Kenmare, to Bishop Moylan.

“ Dear Doctor, Dublin, Feb. 14th, 1787.

“ I received yours of 30th January, and would have answered it sooner, but I waited to give you an account of an interview I had fixed for this morning between Mr. Secretary Orde and the Archbishop of Cashel (Dr. Butler), who came here three days ago. The archbishop complained of the insult offered to him, you, and us all, by

the Bishop of Cloyne's pamphlet. He stated the anxiety and pains he had been at in promoting the test act; his correspondence in consequence with the see of Rome; the approbation of it, and his and your conduct; the condemnation and censure of the *Hibernia Dominicana* and the Nuncio's letter of 1776; your condemnation and efforts against the riots and oaths last May; and finally the peaceful, unimpeachable, and loyal conduct of the catholic prelacy and clergy, under every vicissitude of persecution or indulgence, for the entire of the last century. Mr. Orde assured him then, that the Bishop of Cloyne had not consulted him or government on the publication of his book; that he wished it had never taken place, as it gave Dr. Butler and his worthy brethren so much uneasiness, and had lit up a paper war which the interest of the booksellers would prevent from speedily stopping. He added, that he thought Dr. Butler would do well to publish the vouchers and documents he had read to him*, which must convince every candid

* This was done by Dr. Butler, in the *Justification*, &c.

mind of his laudable line of conduct, and the futility of the charges brought against us.

“ Our little friend is quite on fire about this business. I think with Mr. Orde, that the vouchers and documents alone would sufficiently clear up this matter; but he seems intent upon a much larger scale, attacking their *charter school catechism*, (which neither argument nor reason will make them alter), and refuting every late calumny. I want him to leave most of these to O'Leary; because much may come from him who has been wantonly attacked, both as an author and a man, that could not become an archbishop to meddle in. O'Leary's book will be large, and I will endeavour to find an opportunity of sending it to you.

“ *Dominick Trant's* scurrilous book has produced a challenge from Sir John Colthurst. They met yesterday—Counsellor Egan second to Sir John—and young Hutchinson as friend to Trant—they were stopped by the sheriff, and bound over to the peace. Very violent laws in agitation. Vast majority in both

houses ; but a general outcry amongst the public.

“ Your affectionate friend,

“ KENMARE.

“ P. S. Two cases of pistols fired by each of the duelists at Bray. Trant slightly wounded in the side ; Sir John wounded, supposed by his surgeons mortally, and dying.”

The follower letter from the same valuable and highly respectable nobleman, will be found interesting.

“ Dear Doctor, Dublin, 23d Feb. 1787.

“ The act respecting the southern riots passed the committee of the Commons last night. Every clause respecting us was struck out ; and, in its present form, it is a transcript from the English riot act, and its duration fixed to three years, when it is to be hoped the infatuation of the populace will cease.

“ The chiefs of our clergy and I had drawn up a petition against the original bill, praying to be heard by counsel, and which would have been presented by Mr. Gardiner* ; but Mr. Orde begged me to

* The principal clause, to which Lord Kenmare alludes, was one for erasing catholic chapels, &c.

stop it, assuring me, that the obnoxious clauses were given up; and I see by the temper of the House, that had it come to a division, it would in all probability have been thrown out; as many of the chief crown officers, and some of the highest employments, would have spoken and voted against it. Our friend the archbishop has been indefatigable on this occasion: he is assailed by a whole hive of pamphleteers; but expects, in some days, to publish a work with the proofs of what he mentioned to me, which cannot fail of satisfying every honorable mind.

“Although I am happy in the general liberality of our countrymen in thus disappointing so cruel and unjust an attack, I cannot but think we deserved better of government than to have ever suffered it to have been made upon us; and I must own to you it damps my zeal for our duke and his secretary. Many here inquire for you with the greatest respect,

“I am ever

“your affectionate friend,

“KENMARE.”

Whilst the public mind was thus agitated, and the legislature were engaged in the discussion of violent and dangerous expedients for the suppression of the white boys, O'Leary was occupied in having printed "*A defence of the conduct and writings of the Rev. Arthur O'Leary, during the late disturbances in the province of Munster; with a full justification of the Irish catholics; and an account of the risings of the white boys; written by himself, in answer to the false accusations of Theophilus, and the ill-grounded insinuations of the Right Rev. Dr. Woodward Lord Bishop of Cloyne.*" Never was justification more complete than O'Leary's, as given in this defence; and seldom was a work of the kind sought after with more avidity, or read with more gratification and delight. It drew upon its author, of course, arrows from many a hostile quiver; and the number of *replies, remarks, letters, &c.* which teemed from the press, must, to any one who is aware of the present state of Ireland in this regard, appear incredible. O'Leary's antagonists, it need scarcely be told, were principally

clergymen of the established church. The dissenters then, and always, a highly respectable body in Ireland, and whose religion, like their politics, was of a very liberal and tolerant cast, were neither inactive in his defence, nor backward from sharing the contest. To this they had been provoked by the insinuations against their loyalty, contained in the Bishop of Cloyne's pamphlet; and, moreover, they had discernment enough to perceive, and firmness enough to say, that there existed no just ground for the outcry of "church in danger," which had become the *war word* of the Cloyne controvertists.

The established church, they knew, had always, in Ireland, more to dread from internal than external enemies. The extortion and tyranny exercised, with uncontrolled dominion, over a prostrate peasantry by tithe agents and tithe proctors; the non-residence of a great majority of the beneficed clergy; and the zeal and anxiety for proselytism which filled the minds of many of that respectable class of men, were the real causes of the disputes and distractions of the ecclesiastical portion of

the community ; but the political surface was disturbed and convulsed by another and more deeply laid train of events.

With native ability, O'Leary in his vindication laid hold of the offensive expression made use of by Dr. Woodward, when speaking of the dissenters ; and, in the first section of his defence, he makes them remonstrate thus with the bishop :

“ We will support the state, not in compliance with your charitable admonition, my lord, but because it is our interest and duty. But we will not make war upon our neighbours for tithes and mitres. We shall not efface from the pannels of your lordship's carriage those emblems of ecclesiastical pre-eminence you have borrowed from the church of Rome, and which you are now exposing to public detestation ; nor shall we diminish the number of your dishes, which the catholic clergy have dressed for you, ages before they imagined that bishops, instead of praying for them and their successors, would disturb the dead in their graves, by attributing to them doctrines they never taught ; and exciting the jealousy and resentment of the reign-

ing powers against the living, by casting at their thresholds abortives they disclaim. We shall not engage, my lord, in a crusade to make war upon infidels, who are not in possession of your holy land.

“ It is extraordinary in you to alarm the public with the dangers of popery, when you retain the most oppressive part of a religion from which you are sprung—tithes that are oppressive to the poor, and pre-eminence that has in all ages been well relished by the rich. We cannot in reason hate a catholic for his speculative creed. His belief of the real presence affects us no more than if he believed Berenice's tresses were changed into a comet. Nor are we much concerned, whether in that immensity beyond the grave, there may be an intermediate place between the two extremes of complete happiness and complete misery—a place where the soul atones for venial lapses, and pays off a part of the debts it has contracted here. It is equal to us where a man pays his debts, whether here or in purgatory, provided he pays ourselves what he owes us; and however clamorous a mitred divine

may be about a popish purgatory, HE MAY PERHAPS GO FURTHER, AND SPEED WORSE."

"The proctor's pound, where the cottager's cow or calf is imprisoned, is a greater nuisance to the living than thousands of subterraneous caverns beyond the grave. Good sense, and the general good of society, are restoring to unhappy mortals the unalienable charter which *school divinity* had usurped — *the choice of the religion they think the best, and the privilege of being accountable to God alone for their speculative tenets.* We look upon any person, who would preach or practise a contrary doctrine, as an *agitator* indeed ; and an *agitating bishop* is as obnoxious a character to us, as any *agitating priest or friar* can be." — p. 68, 69.

The union of the catholics and dissenters was justly dreaded by the friends of the Castle ; and government, who were generally supposed to have been the instigators and promoters of Dr. Woodward's publication, were alarmed, in no ordinary degree, at the results likely to follow from the contest. Even the lowest species of humor, one for which Dublin is remarkable, was

pressed into the service of the combatants; and the picture shops were covered with caricatures; in some of which O'Leary was represented as joined hand in hand with the Rev. Dr. Campbell, a distinguished presbyterian divine; and in others, he was painted as pressing on a lever, which a dissenter had placed under a church; whilst the Bishop of Cloyne, from the spire, alarmed the country by cries of "church in danger."

"I read," says Lord Kenmare, in a letter dated October 2d, 1787, "with the greatest pleasure, the *Critical Review* you sent me on the Cloyne controversy. It is the best performance that came out on the subject; in which opinion I am confirmed by Mr. Grattan and Dick Herbert. Pray, who is the writer? Grattan is violent against the Bishop of Cloyne for his publication; and thinks, with the reviewer, that government is at the bottom of it."

In one of the debates which took place in 1787, on Mr. Grattan's motion for a commutation of tithes, Mr. Toler (now Lord Norbury) spoke of O'Leary's *defence* with a bitterness and warmth, not perhaps native to that gentleman's temper, but

quite according to the notions which he has always entertained of the catholic clergy. Mr. Curran, the most consistent patriot, and one of the honestest public men that ever sat in any parliament, ably replied to this attack. He said, "he thought it incumbent on the House to shew themselves untainted by the intolerant principles of certain publications. In so doing, he was certain they would perfectly concur with the respected author of one of them" (the Bishop of Cloyne). "He" (Mr. Curran) "was satisfied that godly and pious man had long since regretted the precipitate publication of those hasty sentiments ; and rejoiced that their natural tendency had been happily frustrated by the good sense of the public : but he saw no reason for introducing the name of his adversary, as a subject of censure, in that House. Mr. O'Leary was, to his knowledge, a man of the most innocent and amiable simplicity of manners in private life. The reflection of twenty years in a cloister had severely regulated his passions, and deeply informed his understanding. As to his talents, they were public ; and he believed his Right

Reverend antagonist had found himself overmatched in him as a controvertist. In this instance, it was just he should feel his superiority : — it was the superiority, not of genius only, but of truth — of the merits of the respective causes. It was the superiority of defence over aggression. It was the victory of a man, seeing the miseries of his country like a philosopher and a tolerating Christian, and lamenting them like a fellow-subject, obtained over an adversary, who was unfortunately led away from his natural gentleness and candour, to see these same miseries through a dark and fallacious medium.”

The circumstances in which O'Leary was placed by these proceedings, were not the most agreeable to either his temper or feelings. His mind had, in common with that of every other person under the dominion of a powerful imagination, a tendency to exaggerate apparent difficulties, and to anticipate consequences which could scarcely be foreseen by any other individual. This rendered his residence in Ireland painful ; and it required little importunity to induce him to remove from

scenes, from which he thought peace had fled for ever.

Some time in the year 1789, he went to London, and became one of the chaplains to the Spanish embassy. His colleague there was a man, whose memory should be rescued from unmerited obloquy; and whose virtues and usefulness deserve that some memorial of him should be handed down to posterity. This person was the *Rev. Dr. Hussey*, afterwards catholic Bishop of Waterford.

Thomas Hussey, D. D. and F. R. S., was descended from a distinguished and respectable Irish family. He pursued his ecclesiastical studies, with very marked success, in the university of Salamanca; but, yielding to deep religious impressions, which, in even the most busy season of his life nothing could efface, he sought to hide himself for ever in the oblivious shades of the renowned abbey of La Trappe, "the world forgetting, by the world forgot." The representations made by the professors of the college to Hussey's religious superior of the value of his talents; and the probability which existed of their being

useful to religion if exerted in the active duties of a clerical life, led to a mandate of the Holy See; under the authority of which, he was forced to quit his retirement, compelled to resume his studies, and, in due time, promoted to priesthood. After his ordination, he entered on the duties of his ministry in London; and for many years, was first chaplain to the Spanish embassy in that city.

As a preacher Dr. Hussey was universally admired. A deep pathos, both of sentiment and manner, was a peculiar quality in his sermons: his style was clear, bold, and correct: his voice full, rich, and commanding; and his eye, which seemed to search the mind and heart of his hearer, beamed earnestness and anxiety for the success of his appeal. A striking instance of his powers as an orator is given by Mr. C. Butler, in his historical memoirs of the English catholics. This gentleman states, that he “was present at a sermon which Dr. Hussey preached on the small number of the elect,”—copying Massilon, he asked “whether, if the arch of heaven were to open, and the Son of Man, bursting from

the mercy in which he is now enveloped, should stand in that chapel and judge his hearers, it were certain that three, or even two—nay, trembling for myself as well as for you! is it quite certain that *even one of us!*” exclaimed the doctor in a voice of thunder, “would be saved?” “During the whole of this apostrophe,” continues Mr. Butler, “the audience was agonized: at the ultimate interrogation there was a general shriek; and some fell on the ground. This was the greatest triumph of eloquence the writer ever chanced to witness.” “He was a man,” adds the same historian, “of great genius, of enlightened piety, with manners at once imposing and elegant, and of enchanting conversation. He did not come into contact with many whom he did not subdue: the highest rank often sunk before him.” During his residence in London, he enjoyed the intimacy of some of the greatest and best men that England ever boasted. Amongst his political friends he reckoned the great Lord Chatham, the Duke of Portland, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and their adherents—to the literary circles that then enlightened and adorned Great Britain,

he was associated as well by the claims of native genius as by the extensive, various, and elegant, as well as profound acquirements, by which he was distinguished. On the 8th of March 1792, he was admitted a Fellow of the Royal Society of London; and he was, during many years, the bosom friend of Dr. Johnson.* His claims to the friendship of Mr. Edward Burke, will be seen hereafter in their true colors.

The Prince Mazinano, when ambassador from Spain at the Court of St. James's, was a favorite with the late King George the Third, and during a visit with which his majesty honored the prince's residence in London, the chaplain, Dr. Hussey, was the only person at home to pay that respect to the good king which his private as well as public character always deserved from his

* "As an additional proof of the charity with which Dr. Johnson lived with good men of the Roman church, I am happy in this opportunity of recording his friendship with the Rev. Thomas Hussey, D.D., his Catholic Majesty's chaplain of embassy at the court of London. That very respectable man, eminent not only for his powerful eloquence as a preacher, but for his various abilities and acquirements."—*Boswell's Life of Johnson*, 8vo. 3d vol. 557.

subjects. The impression made on the royal mind by the manners, conversation, and person of Dr. Hussey, were vivid and lasting ; and when, during the American war, Spain had joined France, and the ministry named the late Mr. Cumberland on a secret embassy to Madrid, for the purpose of inducing a separation between the two powers, his majesty declared his will and pleasure that Dr. Hussey should accompany the envoy, as he placed much reliance on his good sense and discernment. The desired object was not attained, notwithstanding much exertion on the part of Dr. Hussey ; but he established for himself the character of being an able, indefatigable, and enlightened negotiator. At Madrid he was equally admired and respected as in London ; the Archbishop of Toledo, and the foreign ministers who were resident there during the period of his embassy, sought his intimacy and valued his friendship ; and on his return home he was repaid by the grateful acknowledgments of his own government, and the vindictive jealousy of his colleague, *Mr. Cumberland*.

In the Memoirs of his own Life, published

by the latter gentleman in 1806, we find him treat the memory of a man whom he calls his friend, in the following harsh and undeserved manner :

“ The Abbé Hussey had no great prejudices for England. Ireland was his native country ; but even that, and the whole world, had been renounced by him, when he threw himself into the oblivious convent of La Trappe. Whilst he was here digging his own grave, and consigning himself to perpetual taciturnity, he was a very young man, high in blood, of athletic strength, and built as if to see a century to an end.”
p. 358.

“ As I am persuaded that he left behind him in his coffin at La Trappe no one passion, native or ingrafted, that belonged to him when he entered it, ambition lost no hold upon his heart ; and, of course, I must believe, that the station which he filled in Spain, and the high sounding titles and dignities which the favor of his Catholic Majesty might so readily endow him with, were to him such lures, as, though but feathers, outweighed English guineas in his balance ; for of these I must do him the

justice to say, he was indignantly regardless. But to the honors that his church could give—to the mitre of Waterford, though merely titular, it is clear to demonstration, he had no repugnance. He did not exactly want to stir up petty insurrections in his native country of Ireland; but to head a revolution, that should overturn the church established, and enthrone himself primate in the cathedral of Armagh, would have been his highest glory, and supreme felicity; and, in truth, he was a man by talents, nerves, ambition, intrepidity, fitted for the boldest enterprise.” p. 360.

There are few of the duties which devolve on the biographer more revolting, or painful, than that of searching in the silent tomb for the cold and corroding heart of the calumniator, and detecting in it the sources of injustice, ingratitude, or malignity. They who had the pleasure to know Dr. Hussey when living, will read this attempt to injure his fair fame, and to insult his memory, with surprise and indignation; and those, with whom that valuable individual was not personally intimate, need

but read the pages of Mr. Cumberland's Memoirs, above referred to, to trace to its real motive the malignant spirit, which, on the brink of Dr. Hussey's grave, could dictate or inspire so undeserved a calumny. Mr. Cumberland may have had cause to complain of the injustice and neglect of the minister who sent him to Spain without adequate requital; but why suffer the overflowing of his splenetic disappointment to poison his pen when writing of a man who never injured him? They have both passed over the stage of life, and sunk into the tomb not unobserved; but justice may be permitted to interpose her shield, and preserve the virtues and character of a great and good man from posthumous malignity.

Dr. Hussey was ambitious. Be it so:—but that noble passion was, in his breast, tempered by reason and controlled by religion; and its aspirations directed not to his own personal aggrandisement, but solely to the welfare of his country, and the advancement of a more tolerant Christian spirit than at that time influenced the councils of the nation. The mitre was not an object of his desire; he bowed his head

reluctantly to receive that awful trust; and if the inclinations of his heart could be gratified by the honors and dignities of ecclesiastical promotion, he might have acquired them without "rebellion," and enjoyed them without envy. Never was a more groundless or unmerited calumny uttered against any man, than that which would go to detract from the loyalty, the integrity, or the virtue of Dr. Hussey's demeanor through life; the uniform tenor of his conduct is the best and most efficient refutation which an attempt of the sort can receive; and it shall, therefore, be dismissed, not, however, without painful regrets, that no alternative exists between his vindication and the detection of low envy and unprincipled malignity.

The following anecdote is related by Mr. Butler:—Dr. Hussey accompanied the son of the late Sir John Webb on his travels, and during their continuance at Vienna a negotiation was on foot between the Emperor and the Porte; and the wise Joseph, in his usual manner of affecting great business, was for ever saying, "*J'attends un courier de Constantinople.*" This

was so frequently repeated that it became a kind of *sobriquet* among the courtiers. At this time the treaty for the peace between England and America was first opened. It happened that on receiving some propositions from America, the House of Commons adjourned for a fortnight. "Mais donc," said the Emperor to Dr. Hussey, "expliquez moi cela—You are panting and dying for a peace: at length she advances towards you; and instead of running up and embracing her, you adjourn for a fortnight: Expliquez donc cela."—"Mais cela est clair," said Dr. Hussey, "c'est que nous attendons un courier de Constantinople." The expression got into the mouth of every one, and for three days Hussey was the first man in Vienna.

To the anxious and earnest endeavors of Dr. Hussey, in conjunction with two eminent men, to whom their religion and country are deeply indebted, Archbishop Troy and Bishop Moylan, do the catholics owe the establishment of the Royal College of Maynooth. Dr. Hussey was one of the trustees named in the act of Parliament

under which that seminary was erected, and he was likewise its first President.

In the year 1797, he was consecrated catholic bishop of the united dioceses of Waterford and Lismore. He was advanced to this dignity as well by the efforts in his behalf of the English government, as by the friendly offices and zeal of his attached and venerable friend Bishop Moylan, with whom he lived on terms of the closest intimacy, and whose amiable and fascinating character he admired and revered. Soon after his appointment to this important trust, he felt himself called upon to publish a pastoral address to the clergy of his dioceses ; which laid the foundation of much trouble for his latter years, and subjected him to no small share of obloquy and misrepresentation.

Those, who have read the *pastoral charge* of Dr. Hussey, may well express their surprise at the misrepresentations to which it was subjected, and the persecution to which it gave rise. From various quarters he experienced a hostility, that was at once an evidence of the truth and candour of the sentiments which he had expressed,

and of the jealous severity exercised over the catholics by the agents of the administration of the day. Even his fellow bishops trembled at the consequences which their terrified imaginations conjured up as likely to result from this act of Dr. Hussey's ; and he stood alone, to endure the frowns of power, the censures of the weak, and the severities and calumnies of the profligate and the unprincipled.

His path of sufferings was, however, enlightened, and his progress cheered, by the counsels and consolations of Mr. Burke. That great man did justice to the character of his friend. " From the moment," said he, " that the government who employed you betrayed you, they determined at the same time to destroy you. They are not a people to stop short in their course ; you have come to an open issue with them. On your part, what you have done, has been perfectly agreeable to your duty as a catholic bishop, and a man of honor and spirit."*

* The " Pastoral Letter," taken from a copy in which the literal errors are corrected by Dr. Hussey ; and Mr. Burke's letter to him, as found in my friend Mr. Plowden's invaluable " Historical Review of Ireland," are inserted in the Appendix, C.

His brother bishops, as has been just stated, were alarmed at the tempest which the pastoral address had excited ; and they were not backward in expressing their fears and remonstrances to the author. In reply to a severe expostulatory letter of Bishop Moylan, Dr. Hussey returned the following answer :

Waterford,
22d April 1797.

“ My dearest Lord,

“ The candid and friendly remarks which you offer respecting my pastoral letter, are more dear to me than any commendations could be, and are a proof of the most sincere species of friendship. One passage of your letter alone surprises me, where you write to me as if my letter touched upon politics.

“ Surely, the religious grievances we have cruelly labored under, and under a part of which we still labor, (and many instances of these I have witnessed, besides those mentioned in this letter) are not “ *politick*.” If they say that I rip up sores already healed ; no man knows better than yourself they are not healed. You remember, among many other instances, the cruel whipping of the soldiers of the Sligo

militia a few days ago, of which you complained to the lord lieutenant.

“ I infer from the noise which the pastoral letter has made, the low idea which they form of the catholics of this country, when they think it imprudent of them to complain of their religious grievances. Your own pastoral letter, which in the hour of danger justly received the applause of the protestants of both kingdoms—what has it produced? A declaration from the government ‘ that the catholics of Ireland should wear the remaining chains to the end of the world!’ What I have written does not, I am persuaded, contain a word against law; and if I suffer an illegal persecution—why, I am not the first catholic who suffered it; but of this they may be assured—that I shall not suffer *silently*.

“ My private affairs call me to London, but I will not stir until this squall is over. I request to repeat my cordial acknowledgments for your kind letter, and that you will believe me, with invariable friendship, ever yours.

“ THOMAS HUSSEY.”

“ To the Right
“ Rev. Dr. Moylan, Cork.”

In a letter of Dr. Hussey's to his friend Mr. F. Plowden, the following words occur on the subject : " I remember to have given my consent to the Rev. Mr. D'Arcy to take a copy of Mr. Burke's letter, or rather eulogium of my pastoral letter, which I am told, during his illness at Bath, he used to oblige his friends to read aloud to him whilst reclined on his sofa. Such a man's praise more than overbalanced all the abuse with which the Irish parliament of * * * memory endeavored to bespatter me."

The enmity of Dr. Hussey's former political friends was carried, after the appearance of the pastoral letter, to a painful extreme. A striking instance of this took place at the funeral of Mr. Burke. Dr. Hussey assisted at that melancholy tribute of respect to his admirer and friend. Among other persons of distinction whose intimacy he had for a number of years enjoyed, was the Duke of Portland ; but such were the real or affected feelings of this nobleman at the publication of the pastoral letter, that he studiously avoided his former intimate, and when they met by accident, refused to speak to him. On the same occasion the Lord Chancellor (Lough-

borough) inquired of him what news from Ireland? But on Dr. Hussey stating some instances of the despotic and sanguinary rule which prevailed at the time, the inquirer turned away without hearing the conclusion. The press, as well in England as in Ireland, poured forth abuse in abundance upon him ; and that heterogeneous mass of *libel, greek, and intolerance*, the “ *Pursuits of Literature*,” proclaimed him a rebel to the state, and an inveterate enemy to the church establishment of the country.*

The man, who was thus assailed, rose superior to resentment ; and religion silenced the murmurs which occasionally awoke in his bosom. Little more is necessary to finish the imperfect sketch, which it is intended to give of his character in this place. After laying the foundation, in his diocese, of many useful and religious institutions, and devoting the principal part of his ecclesiastical income to the establishment of schools, he spent some time in London ; from which city, during the short

* See “ *Pursuits of Literature*,” preface to the fourth dialogue.

peace of 1802, he went to Paris. At the period of Bishop Hussey's arrival in the French capital, the details of the *concordat* between the Pope and Bonaparte were negotiating. Amongst those who were entrusted by the Holy See with the arrangement of this difficult and delicate concern, were the *Cardinal Gonsalvi* and the *Archbishop of Corinth*; who anxiously availed themselves of that talent for diplomacy, which, in a peculiar manner, distinguished the Bishop of Waterford; and they associated him to themselves, as an able, wise, and experienced counsellor and adviser. At an early stage of the negotiation, Dr. Hussey attended a meeting of the commissioners named by both sides; at which the First Consul was himself present. The countenance of the Bishop of Waterford was fitted to engage attention, and attract regard. It did not escape the searching and discerning eye of Bonaparte: and he addressed himself during the entire conference to Hussey, with a warmth, earnestness, and enthusiasm, characteristic certainly of that great man, but seldom excited to any degree, except when roused

in the conflict of opinion with some mind of congenial or rival powers. He was afterwards heard to speak in terms of respect of Hussey ; who, in his turn, paid the tribute of admiration to the warrior and the statesman, whose talents and achievements seemed then to have fixed the aberrations, and to have closed with glory the course of that mighty event, which had shaken the thrones of Europe to their centre ; and which, until forced to bend before his commanding genius, had baffled all calculation, and derided all control. In such hands as these, the terms of the concordat were soon arranged ; and to the cleverness of Dr. Hussey it was in a great degree owing, that some very objectionable measure, on which Bonaparte had fixed his mind, were not persevered in, and forced on the adoption of the Holy See.

The Bishop of Waterford returned to his diocese in the close of the year 1802 ; and in July 1803, while bathing in the sea at Tramore, he was seized with an apoplectic fit, which soon terminated his life, at an advanced age. “ He closed,” says a writer

already quoted, “ a long and useful life—
much loved and much respected,

————— “ With a sigh, to find
“ The base ingratitude of low mankind.” POPE.

Such was the associate O’Leary had in the duties of the ministry, whilst he remained attached to the Spanish embassy. On his arrival in London, he was anxiously sought after by his countrymen residing in that capital, who all felt gratified by every opportunity which offered itself, of paying respect to one who had done so much honor to religion and their country. Mr. Edmond Burke was very marked in the regard which he manifested to O’Leary : he introduced him to the Duke of York, and some other members of the royal family ; and always spoke of the good effect of his writings with his characteristic enthusiasm. It was, in fact, impossible, after an evening spent in his society, not to seek at every future opportunity a renewal of the delight which his wit, pleasantry, and wisdom afforded. He could be grave when occasion required it ; but the element in

which he lived, and without which his mind languished in comparative depression, was innocent mirth. His jokes were inoffensive, and his puns were such, as made the hearer almost question the justness of the classification, by which they are assigned the last rank in the efforts of imagination.

Notwithstanding, however, the joy which he diffused amongst others, and even whilst his voice was heard fearlessly pleading the rights of humanity, his own mind was not always the dwelling place of contentment. He frequently reviewed life through a gloomy medium, and drew his conclusions of its value, more from what by possibility might occur, than from what was actually taking place around him. He contemplated the evening of his days as a season peculiarly to be dreaded: his fertile imagination peopled it with threatening spectres; and he often expressed his fears of helplessness and want under the pressure of old age. The voice of reason, and the soothings of friendship, sometimes dissipated these shadowy bodings: but they often returned; and, as he expressed himself to an acquaintance in whom he much

confided, “ they poisoned his hours of innocent amusement.”

Amongst other traits of humour that distinguished his residence in England, his acquaintance with the well known Daniel Danser, of penurious notoriety, is not the least remarkable. The retired habits, and low cautious avarice which characterised that strange man, rendered an introduction to him difficult, and an intimacy of any continuance a matter almost out of the range of possibility. The obstacles to both were overcome by O’Leary. During a visit which he made in the neighbourhood where Danser resided, he found means to gain admittance into the ruined dwelling where the miser passed his life. Some strange communication, which he contrived to have conveyed to the object of his search, got him admittance to a filthy apartment, where the haggard lord of the mansion anxiously awaited his arrival. O’Leary introduced himself as a relative of the *Danser* family, and in a most amusing strain of brilliant and delightful detail of the origin of the name, and the exploits of the early founders of the race from

David, who *danced* before the Israelites, he traced the progress of their descent to the collateral branches, the Welch *jumpers*, then contemporaries of *dancing* notoriety. His wit triumphed: for a moment the sallow brow of avarice became illumined by the indications of a delighted mind, and *Danser* had courage enough to invite his visitor to partake of a glass of wine, which, he said, he would procure for his refreshment. A cordial shake hands was the return made for O'Leary's polite refusal of so expensive a compliment; and he came from the house followed by its strange tenant, who, to the amusement of O'Leary, and the astonishment of the only other person who witnessed the scene, solicited the favor of another visit.

The "two-edged sword of wit," as that faculty has been termed, was wielded by O'Leary in the more serious circumstances of life, as well as in its playful hours. An instance where the painful exercise of this talent was happily spared, occurred at one of the meetings of the English catholics, during the celebrated *blue book* controversy. One of the individuals who was expected

to advocate the objectionable designation of "protesting catholic dissenters," an appellation equally ludicrous and unnecessary, was remarkable for an affected mode of public speaking. What in dress is termed *foppish*, would be appropriate as applied to his oratory. He was no admirer of O'Leary, and the feeling of dislike was as mutual as could well be conceived. Him, therefore, O'Leary selected as the opponent with whom he meant to grapple. Those to whom he communicated his intention, and who knew his powers, looked forward with expectation "on tiptoe," for a scene of enjoyment that no anticipation could exaggerate. Disappointment was, however, their lot. The meeting passed over quietly, and neither the objectionable matter nor speaker was brought forward. However much his friends regretted this circumstance, O'Leary was himself sincerely pleased; for he never desired to give unnecessary pain. The gentlemen in concert with whom he acted, dined together after the meeting, and the conversation happening to turn on the disappointment which they had experienced in the result of

the debate, one of them who knew O'Leary intimately, inquired what line of argument he had intended to pursue, if the meeting had assumed the objectionable aspect which was dreaded—this was applying the torch to gunpowder : he commenced an exhibition of the ludicrous so like what would have taken place, so true in manner and matter to what every one who knew the parties could anticipate, that the assemblage was convulsed with laughter to a degree that made it memorable in the recollections of all who witnessed it.

Mr. Butler in his *Historical Memoirs* of the English catholics, already quoted, describes O'Leary's person and mode of argument exactly, in the following words: "The appearance of Father O'Leary was simple. In his countenance there was a mixture of goodness, solemnity, and drollery, which fixed every eye that beheld it. No one was more generally loved or revered ; no one less assuming or more pleasing in his manner. Seeing his external simplicity, persons with whom he was arguing, were sometimes tempted to treat him cavalierly; but then the solemnity with which he would

mystify his adversary, and ultimately lead him into the most distressing absurdity was one of the most delightful scenes that conversation ever exhibited."

At one of the meetings of the English catholic board, whilst O'Leary was addressing the chairman, the late Lord Petre, it was suggested by the noble president that the speaker was entering on topics not calculated to promote the unanimity of the assembly. O'Leary, however, persevered; on which Lord Petre interrupted him, adding, "Mr. O'Leary, I regret much to see that you are *out of order*." The reply was equally quick and characteristic — "I thank you for your anxiety, my lord; but I assure you *I never was in better health in my life*." The archness of manner with which these words were uttered was triumphant, and every unpleasant feeling was lost in the mirth which was necessarily excited.

His sentiments regarding the disputes which then agitated the catholic body of England, and the effects of which are still felt even at this distance of time, may be gathered from the letters which he wrote to his friends at that period. In a com-

munication, dated June 16, 1789, the following passage occurs, "We expect that our bill will come on to-day, though we much doubt its success. The general opinion is, that as our demands are confined to an equality with the other dissenters, who are disqualified from holding any offices, civil or military, the chance is in our favor. Should it succeed, it will be but a small return for the humiliating steps that have been taken in order to obtain it. The petitioners call themselves *catholic dissenters*, and to gratify the framers of their absurd *protestation*, become the implied accusers of all the catholics upon the earth, in the following words, '*we are not answerable for any wicked doctrine which may be held by other catholics !*' Their maxim is not to quarrel about words."

In a letter, dated 5th April 1791, he writes — "The bill for the relief of the English catholics is to be read in the House of Commons for the last time on Thursday next the 7th instant. The catholic committee, headed by Lord Petre, Lord Stourghton, Bishop Berrington, Rev. Mr. Wilkes of Bath, and many highly respect-

able individuals, have appealed from the decision of the three apostolical vicars, on the oath to all the catholic churches of Europe, but especially to the apostolical see; and they have done so, in my opinion, in terms that bespeak much impropriety and acrimony. They set forth, that the bishop's condemnation of the oath *is subversive of the rights of society*, and other words, which fall little short of charging the prelates with high treason! At least a protestant, who reads their appeal, would be apt to think so. This justice, however, must be done to the committee, that in their explanation of the oath they shew themselves as orthodox as their opponents, and profess not to deviate one tittle from any article of the catholic faith. Difference of loyalty between the parties, there is none. The opposers laid before the House of Commons their reasons for not taking an oath in which the letter seems to clash with the spirit, though it be taken in the obvious sense of the words. This turned the scales: Pitt behaved in a manner which does him honor, by moving the expunction of such words as gave offence

to those who differed from the committee, and declaring that government did not wish to interfere in their religious opinions. Thus, after a violent contest between the catholics themselves, and an inundation of pamphlets for and against a crude jumble of words, they are to be taken under the protection of the laws, unless opposed in the House of Peers by the bishops. His Grace of Canterbury is for us, and respect for the metropolitan will, I trust, induce the suffragans to be moderate."

To the Right Rev. Dr. Moylan, Cork.

" My Lord, London, July 12th.

" The fluctuating state of affairs here, and the uncertainty of the fate of the bill in favor of the English catholics, have prevented me hitherto from writing any thing with certainty. Now, at last, the die is cast ; and, while the other nations of Europe enjoy the sunshine of toleration, England remains clouded with the darkness of fanaticism and intolerance ! The little share a religious spirit has in these proceedings is manifest (the clamor against popery excepted), from their general heed-

lessness of pure religion or morality. The efforts of the catholics were directed towards obtaining the moderate privilege of being classed with the numerous sectaries who differ from the religion of the state. In the midst of their expectations of success, and when the business was brought to a crisis, Mr. Pitt declared, that he would give no support whatever to any bill in their favor during the present session — ‘*whatever he may do in the next.*’

“ The opportunity, however, was favorable ; as, at the same time, a bill passed in favor of the Scotch episcopalians, who were in the same predicament with the catholics. Even the nation had not, as on all former occasions, taken the alarm ; nor were pamphlets and lying essays against popery scattered abroad, according to the old system.

“ As for Earl Stanhope, from whom the catholics expected so much, he is an enthusiast who was reared in Geneva. He imagines that an *English catholic* and a *papist* are beings diametrically opposite. He is so averse to the latter, that in his famous heads of a bill for exonerating his

majesty's subjects from the fines and penalties decreed by the statutes of Elizabeth against such as eat flesh on fish days, he excludes the *papists* ; who *alone*, by this bill, if they eat flesh on forbidden days, must pay the fine.

“ I know your lordship to be such a lover of discipline, that, however unsociable *Earl Stanhope* may be to a *papist*, yet I suspect that you would be glad to have a dozen justices of the peace or bailiffs of his stamp in your diocese. They would keep your popish beefsteak-eaters on Fridays and Saturdays under greater control, than if you had twelve *vicars general* !

“ My friend, Mr. David Rochfort, is two letters in my debt. I shall not increase the burden ; for I always make a rule, never to trouble a silent correspondent with a third claim.

“ With respect and veneration,

“ Your Lordship's humble servant,

“ ARTHUR O'LEARY.”

A letter, of which the following is a transcript, was sent by O'Leary to the editor of a London newspaper :

“ Sir, London, June 5th, 1790.

“ A confusion of names gave rise, some months ago, to a mistake, copied from the Dublin Evening Post into the Bath Chronicle, and other papers, in this kingdom; viz. “ that I had read my recantation in St. Werburgh’s church in Dublin.” Thus a mistake has changed me into a conformist, though I never changed my creed.

“ If, in reality, the tenets of my church were such as prejudice and ignorance proclaim them: — if they taught me, that a papal dispensation could sanctify guilt, sanction conspiracies, murders, the extirpation of my fellow creatures, on account of difference in religious opinions, perjury to promote the catholic cause, by pious breaches of allegiance to protestant kings, or rebellion against their government: — if it were an article of my belief, that a priestly absolution, without sorrow for my sins, or a resolution of amendment, had the power of a charm, to reclaim me to the state of unoffending infancy, and enable me, like Milton’s devil, to leap from the gulf of sin into paradise, without purifying my heart, or changing my affections: —

if it were an article of my faith, that the grace of an indulgence could give me the extraordinary privilege of sinning without guilt, or offending without punishment : — if it inculcated any maxim evasive of moral rectitude : — in a word, if the features of my religion corresponded with the pictures drawn of it in flying pamphlets and anniversary declamations, I would consider myself, and the rest of my fraternity, as downright idiots, wickedly stupid, to remain one hour in a state which deprives us of our rights as citizens ; whereas, such an accommodating scheme would make them not only attainable, but certain.

“ Your correspondent does me the honor to rank me with Lord Dunboyne, formerly titular Bishop of Cork, and with Mr. Kirwan. If they have changed their religion from a thorough conviction of its falsehood, they have done well. It is the duty of every sincere inquirer after truth, to comply with the immediate dictates of his conscience, in embracing that religion which he believes most acceptable to God. Deplorable indeed must be the state of the man who lives in wilful error. For, how-

ever an allwise God may hereafter dispose of those who err in their honesty, and whose error is involuntary and invincible, surely no road can be right to the wretch who walks in, or takes it against conviction. A thorough conviction, then, that I am in the right road to eternal life, if my moral conduct corresponds with my speculative belief, keeps me within the pale of my church, in direct opposition to my temporal interest: and no protestant nobleman or gentleman of my acquaintance disesteems me the more for adhering to my creed, knowing that a catholic and an honest man are not contradictory terms.

“ I do not consider Lord Dunboyne as a model after whom I should copy. With his silver locks, and at an age when persons who had devoted themselves to the service of the altar in their early days, should, like the Emperor Charles the V., rather think of their coffins than the nuptial bed, that prelate married a young woman. Whether the glowing love of truth, or Hymen's torch, induced him to change the Roman pontifical for the book of Common Prayer, and the Psalms he and

I often sung together, for a *bridal hymn*, his own conscience is the best competent to determine. Certain, however, it is, that if the charms of the fair sex can captivate an old bishop to such a degree as to induce him to renounce his breviary ; similar motives, and the prospect of aggrandisement, may induce a young ecclesiastic to change his cassock.

“ Having, from my early days, accustomed myself to get the mastery over ambition and love, the two passions that in every age have enslaved the greatest heroes, your correspondent may rest assured, that I am not one of the trio mentioned in his letter.

“ I have the honor to be, &c.

“ ARTHUR O'LEARY.”

The conversion to the protestant church, of Lord Dunboyne, as alluded to by O'Leary in this letter, was the only instance in Ireland, of an apostate catholic bishop* ; and as that nobleman's conduct excited no

* *Brown*, the Archbishop of Dublin, was the first ecclesiastic in Ireland who took the oath of supremacy to Elizabeth. That, and the adoption of the Common Prayer, were the only proofs given by him of his *hatred of popery*. They were, certainly, enough to separate him from the catholic church.

ordinary degree of attention at the time, we shall briefly notice his history.

John Butler, the twelfth Lord Dunboyne, had for twenty-three years filled the Roman catholic see of Cork, when he renounced his creed and mitre. In his early days he had devoted himself to the service of the church; but in consequence of his having lost an eye, his ordination was delayed till the canonical impediment which that circumstance induced, had been dispensed with at Rome; where, in the presence of two cardinals appointed for that purpose, he was obliged to go through the ceremonies usual in the celebration of the divine mysteries. The dignity of his birth, and the interest of some very powerful friends, led, in some years, to his appointment to the diocese of Cork. His learning was not extensive or profound, and his moral conduct, in the latter years of his episcopacy, was said not to be of that strict and exemplary nature which his station as a Christian bishop demanded.* His change of creed

* This assertion is authorised by the testimony of some most respectable persons, protestants as well as catholics, who were intimate acquaintances of Lord Dunboyne.

was not a circumstance calculated to inflict much injury on the body with whom he had so long lived as a superior; and with whom, in the end of his life, he sought reconciliation and forgiveness. The motive of his apostacy was undisguised family ambition. Change of religious principle, there was none; and he carried about the hypocritical mask in too slovenly and hesitating a way, not to give rise to doubts of his sincerity, even in the minds of the least observant persons.

By the death of his brother Pierce, and his nephew Pierce Edmond Creagh Butler, an infant, the title and estates devolved to him. He had always been a slave to family importance; and he grieved to find himself the last barren link of a long and distinguished race. He expected from Rome a dispensation from the obligations of his episcopal character, and permission to marry. The hopes of perpetuating his name and family, led him into these melancholy mistakes. His application to the Holy See was answered by the language of stern rebuke, and amazement at the strange supplication. But he was not to

be turned aside from the purposes on which he had determined; and in a short time, and at an advanced age, he went through the ceremony of marriage, in the town of Clonmell, with a young lady, a relative of his own, and daughter to Theobald Butler, Esq., of Wilford, in the county of Tipperary.

Lord Dunboyne never officiated in the protestant church. After his apostacy, he frequented the services of that religion on Sundays; and on one or two occasions, when ordinations were held in the chapel of Trinity College during his residence in Dublin, he was invited to assist at the imposition of hands, but he studiously and anxiously declined doing so. On the painful intelligence being conveyed to Rome of his marriage, the pope addressed to him a letter, of which the following is a translation:*

* The original will be found in the Apppendix D. I am indebted for the translation to my valued friend James Roche, Esq.

“ The letter of Pius the VI. Sovereign Pontiff, to John Butler, Baron of Dunboyne, and Bishop of Cork.

“ PIUS VI.

“ To our venerable brother, John Bishop of Cork, greeting :

“ It is not to be believed, venerable brother, with what consternation and anguish of mind we have been seized and overwhelmed, ever since we received authentic information, that such was the height of infatuation which your misconduct had reached, that you intended to espouse a certain protestant female ; and dare, even now, to live with her in a state of most disgraceful concubinage. It seemed unto us, like some portentous visitation from heaven, that a person, who had for above three and twenty years filled the station of a bishop, should, at this moment, so far disregard the holy laws—so far degrade the episcopal character and his own, as to involve himself in such a depth of shame, to inflict on the church so gross an outrage, and consciously and voluntarily, to plunge his own soul into utter perdition. Truly, we shud-

dered with horror at this flagitious proceeding ; nor can we now, from the intense agitation of our feelings, find words competent to express our indignation, at such an excess of depravity. Yet, amidst the variety of painful emotions which it has excited—of grief, amazement, detestation, anxiety, and affliction ; far ascendant above the rest, and predominant in our bosom, is a truly paternal commiseration for yourself, and an ardent longing to rescue you, if possible, from such an abyss of profligacy and wretchedness.

“ With this view, our first impulse is, to implore for you the mercy of God, and earnestly to intreat, and through his son our Lord JESUS CHRIST, to supplicate of him, to recall you to your genuine feelings, to inspire you with contrition and penitence for your transgression, and, in his pity, to grant you the desire of emerging from your debasement ; a heartfelt sorrow, and an abundant flow of tears, wherewith to wash away your iniquities, and repair your scandals ; and, finally, to withdraw you from the paths of perdition, by a sincere conversion.

“ Wherefore, WE summon, WE address, and beseech you, brother, fairly to view your condition ; to abhor and bewail your wickedness, lest in the end, you draw on yourself that most dread of all God’s judgments, which yet remains suspended ; and, meanwhile, expose yourself to the heaviest chastisement of your offence, namely—to be abandoned by the divine grace in the midst of your delinquency, and when sunk deepest in guilt, to be least sensible of its enormity.

“ Recollect what you were when discharging the functions of a bishop, and what even now you are, clothed, as you still continue to be, with that dignity which you so much dishonor and pollute. With all the warmth of zeal, therefore, which our pontifical character calls upon us to exert, WE exhort and beseech you, brother in the Lord, to awaken and arise. We admonish, we reprove, and rebuke you, and bring to our aid every office and ministry of paternal love, solicitude, and correction to rouse, to elevate, and inflame you—miserably prostrate as you are, to the thoughts of salvation and the necessity of repentance.

“ But, if—which God forbid! you slight the stings of conscience :—if you remain deaf to the invocation of this warning voice, and persist in the mire and turpitude of so opprobrious a life, it will be our imperative duty, of which we give you this denunciation and solemn notice, to assume the part and enforce the measures prescribed by the sacred canons—measures with which, after having so long exercised the office of a bishop, you cannot be unacquainted.

“ In conclusion, we reiterate our supplication to God, to imbue you with the spirit of amendment and compunction ; and in the auspicious confidence that his mercy will be extended to you, we most cordially, venerable brother, bestow on you the apostolical benediction.

“ Given at Rome, this 9th day of June 1787, in the 13th year of our pontificate.”

This feeling appeal fell coldly on the mind of the unhappy man to whom it was addressed. He had overstepped the boundary beyond which every resolve is heartless ; and every act led him further from

the reproaches of religion. Still he had friends who looked after him with fond solicitude and deep regret; but their anxieties were thrown away upon a man who had so implicated himself, that whichever way he looked, he found difficulties almost insurmountable presenting themselves to his view. Archbishop Butler had claims to his regard, as well on account of near relationship, as of ecclesiastical superiority. To him the above letter was transmitted by the Holy See: he communicated the circumstance to Lord Dunboyne; and, in consequence, a meeting was held between them. The following is the archbishop's account of this interview: — "I have been this day," August 11th, 1787, "with Lord Dunboyne. The interview was, by his own appointment, at Dr. Fogarty's; and we were alone. He read the *brief*, with great attention; and appeared *somewhat*, I cannot say *much*, affected by it. He promised me an answer for his holiness, after the assizes. He still thinks that a dispensation may be obtained; and that it is cruel to refuse it to one circumstanced as he is! I said a great deal to him; but in a perfect

spirit of fraternal charity, gentleness, and mildness — *not to extinguish the smoking flax.*” The good archbishop’s heart, and the kindly feelings of his own amiable disposition, led him to think that the interference of Bishop Egan’s enlightened mind and holy admonitions might be effectual in recalling Lord Dunboyne to a sense of his situation ; and he therefore urged him to seek an interview : but the hope was vain ; and it was not till towards the close of a painful and protracted life, that the unhappy nobleman sought forgiveness and reconciliation from that church, the members of which he had so deeply scandalised, and the superiority and truth of whose doctrines he penitently acknowledged, when motives of worldly ambition and degrading passion had ceased to influence his mind and heart.

O’Leary enjoyed, during the latter years of his life, a pension from the Irish government. As the terms, under which this gift was accepted, have formed matter for various conjecture, it may be necessary, for the sake of doing justice to his character, that, on this subject, we go some-

what into detail. Frequent offers had been made to O'Leary before he left Ireland, by the ministry, to lead him to write something in support of the measures which they pursued, in the government of the country; and inducements were ultimately held forth, for the purpose of engaging him as the supporter of a government newspaper of much celebrity. These attempts were uniformly unsuccessful; and, whatever feelings of restraint his receiving a pension may have induced on his conduct, there is little doubt that his acceptance of it was unaccompanied by any terms offensive to his principles, either as a native of Ireland or a man of the strictest political integrity. The history of this pension is as follows:—

Soon after he had fixed his residence permanently in London, one day whilst dining with his attached and valuable friend Mr. Keating the bookseller, he was informed that Lord Sydney's secretary was in the adjoining parlour, and had a communication to make to him. He immediately left the table; and when in a short time he returned, he related the substance

of the interview. The secretary stated to him that government had observed with much satisfaction the good effects which Mr. O'Leary's writings had produced in Ireland—peace, good order, and unanimity amongst all classes of his countrymen, had been promoted and advanced by his exertions; and that, in consideration of the services thus rendered to the empire, it was determined to manifest the approbation of such conduct, by offering him a pension suitable to his circumstances, and worthy of his acceptance—that with a delicacy arising from the ignorance of his means of subsistence, they had as yet hesitated fixing on any specific sum, choosing rather to learn from himself what would answer his expectations, than to determine on what might be insufficient for his claims. The secretary took the liberty of asking a question, to which, at the same time, he did not insist on receiving an answer—whether in the event of any popular commotion in Ireland, as it was dreaded would be the case from the diffusion of American republican notions, O'Leary would advocate, as formerly, principles of loyalty and alle-

giance? To this latter question an unhesitating reply was given confirmatory of the known inflexibility of O'Leary's political conduct: with regard to the pension, he never had sought for one; though at a former period of his life something of the kind had been hinted to him—in the present instance he was grateful to the government for the recollection of him; and suggested that the utmost of his claims would be answered by £100 a year. He was afterwards officially informed, that his presence in Ireland was necessary for the purpose of having the pension placed on the list of that country: he repaired thither; and after the necessary formalities were gone through, he became entitled to £200 per annum. It has been stated, that a secret condition was annexed to this grant, binding O'Leary to reside in England, and preventing him from further interference in the political concerns of the empire. The fact, however, is, that O'Leary had made previous arrangements for a permanent residence in London, not only as being more favorable to his health, which generally suffered by his visits to Dublin,

but from a rational conviction that the great seat of influence and power was the proper sphere of his benevolent exertions ; and so far was he from resigning any right to his freedom of opinion as an author, that it will be seen hereafter, that one of the last subjects which employed his care before his death sickness, was a general refutation, which he intended to publish, of all the calumnies against his religion and country, which grew out of the political distractions of the year 1798. True it is, that for some unexplained cause, his pension was, after one or two years, arbitrarily withheld ; and it was only shortly before his death, that by the kind interference of his friend Mr. Francis Plowden, the arrear was paid to him : then in order to make himself independent for the rest of his days, he purchased with it an annuity for his life, from a public office ; but he died before the first quarter became due.

Saint Patrick's chapel, Sutton Street, Soho Square, was, for many of the latter years of O'Leary's residence in London, the theatre of his exertions in the cause of religion and morality. That place of worship was not, as is generally supposed,

built by O'Leary ; though his efforts were mainly instrumental in its foundation. The edifice was not originally erected as a place of worship : it was, in its first destination, a place of fashionable resort, for balls, concerts, and assemblies ; and, it was not till some years after it had been deserted as a temple of folly, that the notion occurred to some Roman catholic gentlemen of the neighbourhood, of the facility, at some expense, of converting it into a house for religious worship. A Mr. Olivier, to whom the idea first occurred, communicated his view to Mr. George Keating, and his late respectable father, with whom O'Leary principally resided. At the suggestion of these gentlemen, an address to the public on the subject was drawn up by O'Leary, and circulated through the metropolis. The attention of the catholics was directed to the matter by the late Bishop Douglas, and it derived much valuable support from the eloquence and exertions of the Rev. Mr. Archer. The changes and improvements made in the building were considerable, and required a large sum of money to effect. The original building consisted of

two great rooms, one over the other : the upper was, in the progress of the change, cut through, and enough of it skirting on the organ end and sides, suffered to remain, as answered for the level of the present galleries. By the introduction of architectural and ornamental improvements, the interior assumed an appearance of order and beauty ; and, what was once a scene of thoughtless gaiety, and dangerous amusement, became, in a short time, a school of morality and virtue, where a pure and holy worship was offered to God ; and where the mind, abstracted from the fleeting images of a vain world, reposed in the silent contemplation of all that was calculated to mend the heart, improve the affections, and fit humanity for the delights of a higher and better order of existence.

The fruits of O'Leary's ministry, as exhibited in a short time in the neighbourhood of St. Patrick's chapel, are thus described by his eloquent panegyrist*.

“ Numbers of the most ignorant and indigent of his countrymen, impelled by want

* The Rev. Dr. D'Arcy, in his funeral oration, pronounced in St. Patrick's chapel, on the 14th Jan. 1802.

at home, had flocked to this metropolis ; where, unenlightened as too many of them were, by religion, and, unhappily, unrestrained by the mild influence, or moral instruction of any particular pastor who could watch over their conduct, they became, not unfrequently, the burdens and terrors of society ; and sometimes fell, sad victims to the violated and avenging laws of the country. To rescue these children of misery from infamy and vice, and gain them over to morality and social order, was a task that would have discouraged any but himself, and required all the zeal and fortitude of an apostle :—the task was not merely to instruct and humanize the natural man in a state of savage simplicity ; a clumsy imitation of refined vice, added a dark feature of more hideous malignity to the natural complexion of human depravity, and rendered the undertaking doubly difficult : all this, however, did not discourage or divert him from the arduous work of mercy : he entered upon it with determined resolution : he instructed, he rebuked, he pathetically exhorted with all suffering and sound doctrine ; and God was mercifully

pleased to requite the labors of his servant by uncommon success in his glorious enterprise : he had the consolation to see grow up, under his judicious culture, a fair and plentiful crop of sobriety, industry, and social order, the happy fruits of morality and religion, where only the noxious weeds of intoxication, riot, and all the other numerous offspring of ignorance, had before choaked up the uncultivated soil."

In the midst of the cares and distractions to which the active duties of the ministry subjected O'Leary, he still indulged his usual habits of study. No unexpected visitor ever found him unoccupied : his reading was extensive, profound, and incessant ; and his hours of silence and retreat as many as he could abstract from the necessary and inevitable claims of his flock, or could deny to the kind importunity of his numerous and respectable acquaintance. Few men ever possessed the power of enjoying an extensive influence over public opinion more than O'Leary. Every thing he said or wrote was by every one admired. The wise and learned were delighted with the original and correct

views which he took of every subject that employed his mind ; whilst the amiable simplicity of his manners, the endearing kindness of his disposition, and the worth, purity, and uprightness of his life and conduct, were claims to regard, that could neither be denied nor unattended to. It is, therefore, to be lamented that such transcendant faculties should have remained suspended or inactive, or been, for a moment, diverted in their application from their appropriate object or natural sphere—the moral correction of the age. But an unaccountable diffidence in his own talents, and a love of peace and conciliation to even an unjustifiable degree, were faults in his character, amiable to be sure, but nevertheless, injurious in their effects to the best interests of religion and mankind. One circumstance, remarkable during his residence in London, was, that in the midst of the distractions by which he was occupied, he still retained the love of religious solitude, which he had early imbibed in the exercises of the cloister ; and he frequently, towards the close of his life, deeply and earnestly regretted his

having ever quitted the peaceful retreats of piety and learning. If the circumstances in which he was placed would have permitted such a line of conduct, there is reason to believe that, notwithstanding his social attractions and disposition, his wishes led him to end his life in retirement : — but such a choice was denied to him ; and he had no alternative but that of occasional retreat for the purposes of personal sanctification.

The sermons preached by O'Leary, in Saint Patrick's chapel, were universally admired ; and his auditory consisted of every class and description of persons. The various sectarians, who diversify the religious society of London, from the plain unscriptural quaker to the wild, fanciful, and fanatical theorist, who prides himself on being the detector of some hitherto undiscovered mystery in the Christian dispensation — all flocked to his discourses. His success was answerable to his design, and worthy of his talents. He corrected error, combated vice, and triumphed over prejudice and intolerance ; whilst by his eloquent and powerful vindication of true

religion, he improved the morals, strengthened the social virtues, and excited the benevolence and charity of his hearers.

During the celebrated Westminster election, O'Leary, as an observant spectator, was shocked at the perjuries to which the contest gave rise. From the frequency with which oaths were administered to the electors, and the cool intrepidity with which the sanctions of so solemn an appeal were trampled upon and overlooked by too many of the lower orders of the people, its efficacy, as a test of truth, became in a short time generally disregarded. To aid in checking so great an evil, O'Leary wrote "A treatise on Perjury;" in which he took occasion to censure the too common and familiar reference to oaths as a qualification for office in the various departments of the state, and in the complicated details of commercial intercourse. The condition of the English catholics, at the moment, rendered a work of the sort the more valuable; as that body was then unhappily divided on the expediency and fitness of an oath, which the wisdom of the legislature dispensed with; but which, notwith-

standing, became the source of much trouble, disunion, and evil to the professors of that creed in the British dominions.*

Well timed, however, and desirable as this production was, the publication never took place, for, though prepared for the press, some delay intervened; nor could the MS. be found after the author's death.

The many happy years which O'Leary had passed in France: his disposition of mind and heart, so congenial to the social, pleasant tone of that class of society which

* This oath was the origin of the *Blue-book* controversy:—a dispute, the fatal effects of which are still felt by the catholic body. Its promoters, we are anxious to believe, were little aware of these effects; but the absence of design or forethought will not preclude censure for rash undertakings, or responsibility for consequences resulting from the assumption of unauthorized functions. “*Quisquis quam nôrit exerceat artem.*” The persons, most prominently active in throwing this apple of discord among the catholics, were all respectable in their private, and many of them eminent in their professional capacities; but, as Lord Chesterfield has observed, we are more vain of imputed, than of conscious qualifications; and more solicitous to win extraneous praise, than satisfied with undisputed distinction in our regular pursuits. It was, unfortunately, as theologians, that these gentlemen were ambitious to shine:—a character, discordant with their habits, and foreign to their vocations; and which they proved themselves, accordingly, incompetent to sustain.

he frequented whilst there : his respect and veneration for the clergy of that country, unequalled as they were, during the last century, in learning, literature, eloquence, and the sciences — these, added to a love for monarchy, and a sentimental attachment to the old nobility of France, with the mention of whose names were associated, in his mind, ideas of chivalrous valour, unstained honor, virtue, and religion, caused him to lament deeply and sincerely the scenes of blood and carnage that disgraced the political revolutions of that country. For deliberate and professed infidelity, as subversive of all moral restraint and social order, he had the utmost abhorrence ; and the frightful murders and blasphemous extravagancies, to which the atheism of the revolutionists gave rise, excited in his mind a sensation of horror, of which, during the remainder of his life, he never could totally divest himself. Prompted by these feelings, as well as by the native benevolence of his heart, he was an active friend to the thousands of emigrants, laity as well as clergy, who, during the progress of the revolution, crowded to

England, and there found safety and support. He wrote appeals, in their behalf, to the public: he interested himself in procuring occupation and employment for them; and, with a bounteous hand, he shared with them the hospitality of his table, and the contents of his purse. The sermons which he preached at this time, teemed with arguments and dissuasions against the progress of irreligion; and, on the 8th day of March 1797, a day of solemn fast and humiliation, he pronounced a discourse in St. Patrick's chapel, which, at the desire of the congregation, was afterwards printed. In this publication there are some fine bursts of eloquent indignation against the authors of the French revolution, and many able and powerful arguments against adopting their example, either in politics or irreligion: — “By their decree,” says the preacher, “the French declare that they are willing *to give assistance to all who are willing to procure liberty.* By this decree, the desperate, the licentious, the dissolute of all nations, who would wish the overthrow of their respective countries, in order to enrich themselves with the spoils of the peaceable and

virtuous, were sure to find allies and confederates. And yet those allies have not enriched the malcontents or disaffected of any state subdued by their arms. The spoils of towns and cities were appropriated to themselves, or sent to Paris; and the blessings conferred by such conquerors, are visible in all those provinces, where former scenes of peace and plenty are changed into deserts, and the prospect of smoaking ruins can alone distinguish the solitudes of nature from the desolation of the Vandal.

“ Our hardships are temporary, and to be borne with as other calamities with which God in his justice sometimes visits mortals, either for the punishment of their sins or the amendment of their lives, or the trial of their patience. Let an all-ruling providence, by a change of times and circumstances—by the energy and wisdom of rulers, and means best known to him who protects, sets up, or pulls down kingdoms and empires, remedy the evils of which people may complain. But to attempt to remove them by deeds of darkness—by opposition to lawful authority—by the assistance of

men abandoned to irreligion and licentiousness, is to plunge into the gulph of destruction."

In a subsequent part of this sermon he alludes to the ludicrous and often refuted opinion of the speedy fall of the *Popedom*, which notion, in consequence of the cruelties and indignities heaped on the holy and venerable Pius VI. by the French atheists, was at that time revived, and formed a prominent feature in the pulpit declamations of the day.

"I know," says O'Leary, "that the unexpected success of licentious infidels, who have destroyed religion in the unhappy land that gave them birth, seems to shake the faith of the unsteady, and to increase with additional shades, the darkness of fanaticism already prophesying the impending destruction of the catholic church, and the final close of the succession of her pastors in the person of the present pope.

"Such foretellings are proved by time to be the deliriums of an imagination bewildered by the prejudices of education, or overheated by enthusiasm; or they are the artifices of impostors, who sported with the

weaknesses of the ignorant and credulous, to render them subservient to their designs.

“ Luther prophesied that in the space of two years after his revelations, there would be no more popes. The number of popes, who have appeared since his time, are proofs of the credit such prophets deserve. Who could take a review of the motley group of *prophets* who have started up since, some of them divines, some mathematicians and astronomers, and a greater number mechanics, all prophesying, and with equal authority, the speedy end of the pope and catholic religion ?

“ Volumes may be written and libraries filled with books against *popery*—fanatics may prophesy—modern Goths and Vandals may desolate provinces, and bury cities in ruins—the temporal sovereignty of Rome, originally the gift of temporal princes, may be destroyed, and Rome herself undergo the fate of Carthage, and be known only in history—the pope’s head may be carried on a pole; and the Turkish Solyman’s threat that he would feed his horse with oats on St. Peter’s altar, may be carried into execution; but the spiritual

supremacy of Rome, and the succession of the lawful pastors, with whom Christ promises to be to the end of time, can never be destroyed by all the powers of the earth. They are neither riches, nor opulence, nor temporal power, or grandeur, which their Master has promised them. Should one pastor be beheaded, another with the same spiritual power and title to the chair of unity will be elected, either on the brink of a lake where Peter received a commission to feed Christ's flock, or in some subterraneous vault in times of persecution (if such should happen), as well as in the magnificent palace of the Vatican."

This sermon was reprinted in Dublin, and had an extensive circulation both in England and Ireland.

The fate of the venerable and holy pontiff, Pius VI., as it excited the sympathies of every good and pious mind, was lamented even by those who were aliens to his authority, and opposed to his religious doctrines. His personal character was as amiable as his rank was exalted; and not religion only, but humanity, the arts, the sciences, and learning, mourned over his

ashes, and deplored the cruelties to which he had fallen a sacrifice. His murder—for his death can be called by no other name—was portentous to the destinies of Europe. In his sacred person were united the monarch and the pontiff; and he was, therefore, a suitable victim for the vengeance of men, who had leagued together for the destruction of the altar and the throne. The ferocity of his tyrants excited mingled sentiments of pity and alarm in every thoughtful breast; and all over christendom his virtues were proclaimed, and his fate deplored, with a unanimity of spirit, at once honorable to his memory, and valuable to the cause of religion and humanity.

At the time of the pope's death, his auditor, Monsignore (afterwards cardinal) Erskine, was resident in London; and under his direction, funeral obsequies were performed to the memory of the pontiff, on the 16th November 1799, in St. Patrick's chapel. The funeral service of the dead in the catholic church, is peculiarly suitable and impressive; and, in the present instance, nothing was left undone, that could

add dignity or effect to the services of religious worship. The entire church was hung with black, and such architectural and ornamental arrangements introduced, as were calculated to give solemnity to the sacred structure, and were fitted to excite melancholy and deep sensations in the minds of the numerous and respectable persons, by whom it was crowded to excess. Amongst the individuals present, were the Cardinal Erskine, Dillon Archbishop of Narbonne, the Bishop of St. Paul de Leon, and a number of other prelates; the foreign ambassadors, and several of the most distinguished English, as well as French nobility. At the conclusion of high mass, O'Leary, without surplice or stole, contrary to the usual practice of preachers in the catholic church, but simply attired in a plain mourning cassock, ascended the pulpit, and pronounced an eloquent and impressive funeral oration on the deceased pontiff, every sentiment of which, as it came warm from his heart, excited a responsive sympathy in the bosoms of the hundreds who heard him. His text was well chosen from the 102d psalm:—"Thou

hast lifted me up, and cast me down. My days are like a shadow that declineth, and I am withered like grass ; but thou, O Lord, shall endure for ever." ver. 10, 11, 12.

The religious character of Pius VI., as sketched by O'Leary in this discourse, was worthy equally of the holy pontiff, and of the preacher ; but as he was anxious to exhibit the pope under the guidance " of a wisdom that could accommodate itself to a variety of conjunctures, without deviating from the path of virtue, and which could reconcile the maxims of the gospel to the engagements and duties of sovereignty," he dwells with peculiar emphasis on the temporal rule of the holy father. " Of his love and encouragement of the arts," says the preacher, " the *Musæum Pio Clementinum* was one of the most noble monuments this or any other age could boast. But it was not by the encouragement of the sciences alone that Pius VI. signalized his pontificate. Under his fostering hand, the arts and manufactures raised their drooping heads ; commerce was extended ; coasts infested by pirates were protected ; harbours fortified ; roads

cut through marshes and deserts before impassable ; communications formed between distant places ; new asylums opened to helpless indigence ; and plenty reigned in those places which had before been barren. There was no calamity in his states to which he did not administer relief, when it came to his knowledge ; nor was there any calamity unknown to him, but such as eluded the inquiries of the most attentive vigilance.”

In a beautiful and eloquent strain, the orator describes the successful and anxious efforts made for draining the Pontine Marshes : the extract is too long to find a place here, but it concludes in these words : “ Europe admired a pontiff and prince, in the decline of life, adequate to such undertakings. Emperors, kings, and princes flocked to Rome to see something greater than Rome itself—a pontiff uniting in his person the experience of age with the vigor of mind and the enterprising genius of youth :—the outward charms of the most fascinating figure, with the improvements of the most cultivated mind ; and the magnanimity and magnificence of a temporal

prince with all the meekness and piety of an apostle."

French philosophy — for which the preacher entertained immeasurable hatred, is depicted in its fiery career, as threatening the safety of every thing interesting in a social, or valuable in a religious point of view ; and its enmity to every endearing or ennobling principle, is exhibited in its persecution of the peaceful and inoffensive Pius. One or two traits of the cruelty exercised on the venerable pontiff, are selected by O'Leary with a just appreciation of the feelings of his auditors. "It was this philosophy," said he, "whose insatiable thirst for blood could not be satisfied with hecatombs of human victims, amongst whom kings, queens, princesses, aged and venerable prelates, priests, and levites, were offered on its polluted altars, until it chained to its triumphal car, and sprinkled for the sacrifice, a high priest and prince, before whose majestic countenance and silver locks a victorious *Alexander* would have fallen prostrate, as that conqueror did when he met *Jaddeus* the high priest, clad in his pontifical robes, with

the prophecies in his hand, at the gates of Jerusalem. The other victims were slaughtered near their habitations, or at a small distance on the high roads, where they were met by their executioners; but him they led to the sacrifice far from St. Peter's shrine, where he requested to be permitted to die, and where he wished for the crown of martyrdom. The '*staff of old age*,' is always mentioned with veneration; and when propping the drooping body of a hoary sage, it ever was considered, by savage as well as civilised nations, as the sceptre of reverence. It commands respect under the hand of a grey-hair'd Indian addressing his savage warriors. But without any regard to the propriety which nature itself suggests to the uncultivated savage, his enemies deprived Pius VI., bending under the weight of years, of the support of his tremulous steps, and sent his cane as a trophy to the French directory, in whose hall it is exposed, as the poles on which the sacred ark was carried in procession, were put up in the temple of Dagon, in the unhallowed land of the Philistines !"

Not to multiply extracts, let the following few lines convey the catastrophe of the tragic history: "The member died as the head—the servant as the master—the vicegerent as the king who had delegated the power. He died, as Christ died on the cross, and Saint Stephen on his knees; *he died, praying for peace to the world, and forgiveness to his enemies!* The tear starts in the eye of pity, at the recital of the unmerited sufferings of fallen greatness, and the wanton persecutions raised against unoffending innocence. '*Yet, weep not for him who died a death which kings themselves might envy. He died the death of the righteous, and may our last end be like theirs!*' " Numb. c. xxii.

Amongst those of his own communion in England, who cultivated with most assiduity the friendly regards of O'Leary, was Lord Petre, grandfather of the present peer of that name. This nobleman was, at the same time, the friend and admirer of O'Leary, and the patron of the late Rev. Dr. Geddes: two individuals, as opposed in their views of religion, as they differed in personal character. Whilst O'Leary,

kind, indulgent, and courteous in private life, was inflexible in the maintenance, and ardent in the diffusion of that religion which he deemed the source of salvation to mankind; the irritable and unamiable Geddes, under the semblance of liberality, employed the resources of his strong mind, and the aid of his multifarious acquirements, to the vital injury of divine revelation, and to the destruction of every fixed or secure religious principle. On any doctrinal subject, it was, under such circumstances, more than improbable that such men should feel or reason alike. Much of O'Leary's life had been passed in the refutation of sophistry, and the diffusion of religious knowledge; and his writings breathed a devout and fervent spirit of humble faith, as well as of unbounded benevolence. Not so with Geddes. In his dissertations or prefaces annexed to his translation of the historical books of the Old Testament, he had, like *Oza*, with a rash and profane hand, sought to invade the great bulwark of faith, under the pretence of giving it support—he sought to despoil of their divine origin and sacred character, — to reduce to the common

level, and to subject to the canons of ordinary criticism, those records of truth, which every genuine Christian is bound to revere as the inspirations of heaven, and the depositories of the word of God. In his "Modest Apology," he had likewise frittered down Christianity to a system of *theism*, or arbitrary latitudinarianism, at once repugnant to the doctrines of the catholic church, and opposed to the best interests of revealed religion in general. The former work had called forth the authoritative public censure of Geddes's ecclesiastical superiors * ; and the latter was universally re-

* Dr. Magee, the protestant bishop of Raphoe†, in his book on the Atonement, quotes and criticises Geddes as a *Romish* writer of authority. It is fair to ask by what portion of the catholics he has been so recognized? Is the bishop ignorant that his principles had been long unsettled, and that he had long renounced the jurisdiction of the catholic church? If the right rev. prelate knew not so public a fact, or if he failed to infer it from the works of Dr. Geddes, little conversant must his lordship be in catholic doctrine or controversy; and little competent, I will add, to pronounce on a subject into which he had so carelessly inquired. If an adherence to the name or designation of any particular sect or creed be sufficient to confer a title to authority, Voltaire and Diderot will be appealed to as catholics — Bayle

† Now Archbishop of Dublin.

jected, as an unfair and uncandid exposition of the principles and doctrines of the English Roman catholics. On the publication of the "Modest Apology," a copy of it was sent by Lord Petre to O'Leary, with a desire to learn his opinion of its merits. He easily and promptly complied with the request; and, by his unreserved condemnation of it, anticipated and affirmed the judgment pronounced upon it by every sincere and well informed mem-

and Rousseau as calvinists — Hume will be referred to as a presbyterian, and Gibbon as an anglican; and, amongst the advocates of Christianity, Priestly will be classed with the right rev. prelate himself! Of Dr. Magee I wish to speak in terms of respect. His talents and his learning have been the theme of general, and, I believe, of just eulogy; but how am I to reconcile the character for liberality of sentiment and enlightened toleration, to which, I am assured, he lays claim, with the harsh, offensive, and unchristian epithets, applied in his sermon, on the death of the late Lord Clare, (preached on the 7th February 1802) to the catholic church? This church, which embraces in its bosom the three-fourths of Europe, is there termed "*A gloomy, erroneous, exclusive, and intolerant superstition.*" As self-emendation is the first duty of a Christian preacher, it is hoped that the mitre has brought to Dr. Magee a larger share of impartiality, ingenuousness, and toleration, than were to be found in "the senior fellow of Trinity College."

ber of his communion. The noble patron, although it is to be hoped that he lamented the irreligion of Geddes, was not backward in his defence against so powerful a critic; and his lordship accordingly, addressed a letter to the following effect to him:—

To the Rev. Arthur O'Leary.

“ Rev. Sir,

“ I was sorry to find by your letter, which I received a little while ago, that the *Modest Apology*, written by Dr. Geddes, did not meet with your approbation. I imagine you have not read it, with the same view with which it was written; but, considering this apology as a controversial work, you seem to have lost sight of the political effect it was intended to produce.

“ This excellent work, for the purpose it was intended, has already, to my certain knowledge, reconciled some great and eminent characters to the safety of permitting the professors of the Roman catholic religion to be placed on the same footing with protestants. This great object of the *Modest Apology* is, at present, the only point of view in which the work ought

to be considered. Having noticed generally the object of the book, I cannot remain totally silent on the points contained in your letter ; in which I profess I do not agree with you in a single instance. The historical applications mentioned in your letter, are forced, and irrelevant to the subject ; and equally unconnected with the present question, as all you have introduced relative to *John Knox* and the *Gordonian* association.

“ With regard to the author bewildering himself and his readers, few writers can vie, in clearness and perspicuity, with Dr. Geddes ; and, I believe, I shall only join the universal opinion, if I say, that in point of writing, clearness, simplicity of diction, and facility of comprehension, no work of the kind scarcely ever surpassed the *Modest Apology*. All the religious part of your criticism on Dr. Geddes’s orthodoxy, is foreign to the object of his work ; and wherever his own opinions seem to differ with those generally received by catholics, he distinctly takes the responsibility upon himself, where we will leave him to make his defence, whenever he thinks proper.

“ With respect to our church ceremonies and other pious practices, I am free to say, that Dr. Geddes has treated them with full as much respect as could be expected, when he was endeavouring to keep up a strong distinction between what are ceremonies and points of discipline, and what are fundamental articles and tenets of the Roman catholic religion.

“ As to the celibacy of the clergy, so far from censuring severely that point of discipline, he seems rather to adopt the idea, that some imperfection is connected with the holy state of matrimony, incompatible with the priestly duties; and, therefore, recommending those priests who marry to retire from officiating at the altar.

“ After all—I do not perceive that your objections to Dr. G.’s work go much further than to the disrespectful style in which he appears to you to treat our religious discipline, and many of our pious practices. This manner of writing may shock some catholic ears; but the candidly acknowledging and not defending our ecclesiastical discipline on all occasions, are the only effectual methods of reconciling protest-

ants to our religion, and of doing away, not any real objection to our religious tenets, but to the wilful misrepresentation of the first reformers. For that purpose the *Modest Apology* is admirably calculated. Viewing *it in that light*, I cannot perceive, after the fullest consideration, the least ground for censuring the book; but, on the contrary, I have the strongest reasons, as well as my own judgment, to induce me to believe that this work has already gone and will go greater lengths in doing away the political prejudices against what protestants call *popery*, than any work written, or any steps taken, since the reformation.

“ I hope no mistaken zeal for polemical disputation will attempt to weaken the general political effect to be expected from the *Modest Apology*.

“ I remain, Rev. Sir,

“ Your most obedient humble Servant,

“ Thornden,

“ PETRE.”

“ August 18, 1800.

It is only justice to Lord Petre's memory to add, that the opinions so warmly expressed in this letter were more the un-

guarded effusions of friendship, than the deliberate expression of his opinions, either on the discipline or practices of a church to which he was attached by every tie that could bind his reason or influence his heart. He did not long survive the writing of this letter ; but he lived long enough to join his voice to that of the entire body of well informed catholics in their disclaimer of Geddes as their theologian, or his book as an authorized or acknowledged exposition of their religious principles and doctrines.

“ A memorial in behalf of the fathers of La Trappe, and the orphans committed to their care,” was probably the last, and is unquestionably, in point of style and sentiment, the best of O’Leary’s literary labors. The subject, indeed, was one congenial to his mind, and worthy of his benevolence. The *Trappists*, in the progress of the French revolution, were early marked out for destruction by the enemies of all order, piety, and virtue. They fled from impending destruction, and exchanged the gloom of their forest for the mountains of Friburg. Even here the restless and implacable spirit of infidelity sought them out ; and

when the Swiss republic fell, the abbot and his community made application to the Emperor of Russia for some retired spot, amidst the deserts of his vast dominions, where they might close their days in piety, seclusion, and peace. The monarch gladly received them into his protection ; but as the way was made for their settlement by the dispossession of persons who had had a previous grant of the lands intended for their abode, their reluctance to involve others in the same calamity from which they sought shelter irritated the autocrat, and he sternly banished them from his empire. They then proceeded to Hamburgh ; and the abbot was induced to appeal to the benevolence of the English nation for a share of the bounty, which then flowed through a thousand channels, for the relief and support of the indigent and forlorn emigrants. The memorial which O'Leary wrote in their behalf, was successful in procuring for them the friendly attentions of which they stood so much in need. As this very elegant little composition was not generally known to be from O'Leary's pen, a few extracts from it in the appendix will

equally delight and edify the reader. (Vide Appendix E.)

Another of O'Leary's productions about this time, was his "Address to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal" on the subject of religious ladies residing in convents; concerning whom some measures were contemplated in a bill brought forward by Sir Harry Mildmay, in the House of Commons.

Approaching now to the close of these pages, a sense of justice as well as gratitude dictates the propriety of noticing and acknowledging the relaxation which has taken place in the penal laws against the catholics:—a detail of the severities of which, it was found necessary to introduce at an early period of the life of O'Leary.

Attempts for the partial repeal of the *popery* laws had been made at various times after the accession of George the Third to the throne; but they were uniformly unsuccessful: and the persons whose policy or humanity prompted them to notice the catholics in parliament, were branded as enemies to the state, and *papists* in disguise. Most of these intended measures

of relief regarded the tenure of property, and the security of money lent by catholics. The rapid acquirement of wealth by many of that body, and the causes which produced this circumstance, have already been noticed. In a commercial community, influence and weight must and will inevitably attach to the possession of ready-money ; and, in many instances, in the times of which we treat, some of the most prominent members of the legislature were dependant on loans from the oppressed catholics, for the means of upholding their rank, and pursuing the objects of their ambition. This, and the hereditary influence of the catholic nobility, opened the way to the partial indulgence which followed the oath of allegiance, in the act of 1778. The relaxation made by this, consisted of an ability conceded to the catholics, to take leases of lands for any term not exceeding 999 years, or determinable on the dropping of five lives ; and that the lands then seised by catholics should, in future, be descendible or alienable, as fully as if they were in the seisin of any other subject of his majesty : and by this act, likewise, the unnatural

inducement which was held forth, and too often acted upon, for children, who renounced the catholic religion, to demand a present maintenance, and hold their parents as tenants for life, was wisely done away.

At this time, was first started the propriety of giving to the king an effective *veto* on all future appointments to the dignities of the catholic church in Ireland. The framers of the bill of 1778, sought to enslave the clergy, in proportion as they restored the rights of subjects, and the privileges of civil liberty to the catholic laity. The proposed measures included the right of nomination of catholic bishops, or a power equivalent, by negating all future appointments to the prelacy; and they moreover required, that every clergyman should sign and adopt the celebrated *Gallican propositions*. The reply of the bishops who were applied to on this subject, was prompt and unequivocal: the former, they stated, it was totally beyond their competency to concede without incurring schism; and the substance of the latter test was embodied already in the oath of allegiance.

The most active, and certainly for many years, the individual of most influence amongst his fellow catholics, was Lord Kenmare; and he deserved and enjoyed the confidence, not only of that body, but of every class of persons to whom his character and merits were known. His exertions were incessantly directed to awaken the catholics to a sense of the degradation and slavery in which they were placed. In the end, he was successful; but it is painful to learn the apathy and indifference with which he had to contend. On the 5th of December 1778, he wrote from Dublin as follows, to a respectable prelate with whom he was in habits of correspondence:—

“ Since Mr. Cooke’s and my arrival here we have been trying to spirit up the body to some exertions, which have been strongly recommended to us by some of the leaders here as well as in England. The supineness and indifference of the major part of our people is inconceivable: it is scarce possible to bring any number of them together; the subscriptions they entered into about the time of passing our bill, but a few have paid; and we can scarce prevail

on those employed in the collection, to apply to the parties to fulfil their promises.

“ In this state of things, I moved in the committee that application should be made to the chiefs of the clergy to have a yearly subscription and collection made from the wealthier class, in every parish in the kingdom, from one shilling to what they pleased, from each person. I was assured the number of parishes amounted to two thousand, and it was supposed that scarce any one of them would produce less than a guinea—these, in towns and cities, would amply make up for the deficiency of remote ones; and thus the levy would come light upon each individual, and still be sufficient for all exigencies.”

A letter from Bishop Egan, of the 23d of December, enumerates the measures of relief then contemplated by the friends of the catholics:—“The Archbishop (Butler) was very earnest with me,” says the venerable prelate “to accompany him to Dublin; but besides that, I imagined that in the ferment which parliament must have been in on its first assembling, little attention

could be paid to our affairs, I was afraid of the air of a city during the present gloomy season. Dr. Butler was not idle; he tells me his journey was not fruitless; that he had visited all the great men in town—the Speaker, the Attorney General, the Archbishop of Cashel (Dr. Agar), &c. &c.; and in them all, he found dispositions favorable to befriend and relieve us: he adds, that the heads of a bill for the repeal of all the penal laws against us, except such as disqualify our people from holding offices under the crown, and voting at elections, were under consideration, and preparing by the Attorney General, the Recorder, Mr. Burgh, and Mr. Yelverton, and were to be introduced after Christmas.”

Notwithstanding the efforts thus made, and the prospect of success held forth to the catholics, little was done in the course of the succeeding year, besides an arrangement of the proposed plan of a general subscription. The details of this necessary measure were committed to a sub-committee, consisting of the following persons; viz.—Lords Gormanstown and Kenmare, Dr. Currey, Charles O’Conor, (who in a

flourish under his signature to a document on this subject, in the present writer's possession, introduces the figures 79, indicative, it would appear, either of the date of the year, or his own age), Messrs. J. M. Daly, and Rob. Caddell.

The following letter deserves a place in even a sketch of the history of the Irish catholics :—

From Lord Kenmare to Bishop Moylan.

“ Dear Doctor, Dublin, Dec. 16th 1779.

“ I communicated to you in my last the progress of our affairs, and our resolution of consulting the chiefs of our bar and senate, for the revisal of the rest of our popery laws. Two gentlemen deputed by the body waited, in consequence, on Messrs. Yelverton, Hussey Burgh, and the Recorder, who gave them every encouragement of success. When, after many visits, they at length met the Attorney General, he told them that he had assured Mr. ——— in London, *one thousand pounds a year, for soliciting the catholic concerns*—that his weight and merits well entitled him to it; and *that if they did not provide it, they must*

expect every opposition from him! Had all your brethren exerted the same zeal as you in promoting our plan of yearly subscription, this would not have been so deadly a rub; but we must either parry it, or give up all hopes of profiting of the present spirit of liberality in the government, and amongst all ranks, in our favor.

“ Our friend **** is my only correspondent in Cork; and though he has many good qualities, I know he is not liked amongst his brethren there, and has set them a very pitiful example in his own subscription. Could you not come to our aid by your numerous acquaintance, and the universal respect you are held in there, to prevail on the gentlemen of that city to attend to their own and the interests of the catholic body at such a crisis as this?

“ I am sorry to acquaint you, that several of our principal gentry have not paid their last year's subscriptions; and several of our chief traders nothing, or next to nothing. Slavery and oppression have debased and crushed their spirits; and were it not compassion for the poorer classes, and the farming portion of society, one would scarce

regret to leave them in their thralldom. Whatever be the event, I shall not spare my pains in what I look on as my duty.

“ Your affectionate friend, and
 “ humble servant,
 “ KENMARE.”

The distinguished individuals noticed in this letter, as having been employed in preparing the heads of a relief bill, were, at the conclusion of that task, presented with a hundred guineas each by the catholic committee. It was consistent with their principles to decline receiving any reward for so honorable and patriotic an exercise of their abilities; and it is gratifying to learn, that only one—(which of them does not appear)—accepted of the fee.

In 1782, the bill, to which the catholics looked forward with such intense anxiety, was brought forward, and in a modified form, passed into a law. Its concessions shall be noticed hereafter; but the following account of its progress through parliament, is deserving some notice.

For the success of the bill of 1782, the catholics were, no doubt, indebted to the

tolerant spirit which pervaded all ranks in Ireland at the time. The sources of this kindly and honorable sentiment, were various and abundant; and a noble emulation for its general diffusion manifested itself within the walls of parliament, as well as in private and social intercourse. To a contest, however, for the possession and enjoyment of the weight, influence, and authority over the great body of the catholics, were owing the promptness with which the measure of relief was adopted by the government party, and the little contradiction, which, in its general object, it experienced from the friends of the administration. The situation of Ireland before the successful vindication of her legislative rights, and that of the revolted American colonies, were not so dissimilar, as to escape the notice of the Irish government. The voice of freedom, in the energetic language of Mr. Flood, shouted across the Atlantic: an armed association, whose demands of national independence and parliamentary reform were loud and reiterated, bearded and overawed the legislature of the country: their measures contemplated the abolition

of every antiquated and sectarian distinction; and the catholics, whose physical force was, under such circumstances, a serious and important consideration, were invited and expected to join in these liberal and patriotic efforts. It is rather a curious coincidence, that the heads of the catholic bill were introduced in the House of Commons, on the same day that the convention of Dungannon proclaimed their opinion, of the right of private judgment in the worship of God, and their resolution, to aid in the repeal of the laws against their catholic countrymen. The government had no time to lose; and the measures brought forward by Mr. Gardiner, if they had not the direct approbation of ministers, were, at least, uncontradicted by them in any of their details. The relief bill had, nevertheless, to force its way through an imposing and uncompromising opposition. Archbishop Butler, who watched its progress with anxious solicitude, wrote as follows, on the subject:—

“ Dublin, Feb. 21st, 1782. ”

“ Having come up to town to forward, as much as my weak influence could, the

success of our bill, I waited from day to day, to give you some satisfactory account of it. On yesterday, it was brought under debate, and by a general agreement, it was simplified into four clauses ; viz. liberty of property ; liberty of conscience ; liberty of marriage ; and liberty of arms for self-defence. The first only was discussed ; though the House sat till three o'clock this morning. It passed by 145 to 56. The House manifested a liberality of sentiment on the occasion quite unprecedented.

“ The Archbishop of Cashel, the Primate, and the Speaker, are for having *the nomination to our vacant sees vested in the king*. When this was mentioned to me, I opposed it by every means, as tending to convert the collation of our dignities into downright electioneering, which would certainly be the case ; and, by putting us on the same footing with the bishops of the established church, deprive us of our people's confidence, and thereby, of that influence over them, the exercise of which has, at various times, been so valuable, not only to morality and religion, but also to loyalty and allegiance.

“ I proposed a plan, which, I am satisfied, would go as far as any measure could, to ensure the fidelity and loyalty of those who were about to be promoted to dignity in our church, and at the same time, make no such change in the discipline of it, as would be dangerous : it was, that the future bishops should be chosen by the clergy of the vacant see; by the prelates of the province, and the metropolitan : that no one should be chosen, except such as had taken, or would take, the test oath ; and that all recommendations from foreign lay powers should be studiously disregarded. This plan, I submit to the approbation of the bishops of the province.

“ I have been here now five weeks, *battant le pavé tous les jours*. Mr. Grattan, whom I frequently see, is all in all with us ; as are the Provost, Attorney General, Messrs. Yelverton, Hussey Burgh, Ogle, Gardiner, Dillon, Holmes, young Sir William Osborne, Lord Kingsborough, John Butler of Kilkenny, Sir Boyle Roche (in capital letters), Mr. Bushe, the Duke of Leinster, Connelly, Forbes, and others. The friars, I am afraid, will be severely treated.”

The interference of a protestant king in the appointment of the catholic bishops, so much and so deservedly dreaded by Archbishop Butler, and which, in such various forms, and under the general designation of *veto*, has given rise so frequently to anxiety and angry discussion amongst the catholics, was happily abandoned by the framers of the bill. The powerful and splendid displays of eloquence, which distinguished the parliamentary debates on the passing of that act, are recorded in the pages of history; but the following letter from Lord Kenmare, discloses too much of the system frequently pursued in the Irish parliament, not to be read with interest, as a document worthy the notice of the future historian.

From Lord Kenmare, to Bishop Moylan.

“ Dear Doctor, Dublin, March 4th, 1782.

“ I would have long since answered your several letters; but that I waited to give you information on the subject, which I knew lay closer than any other to your heart and mine—the repeal of our popery code. You have seen how Mr. Gardiner’s

first plan was defeated, by a false and malicious insinuation of Mr. Fitzgibbons, 'that it affected the titles under the act of settlement;' which, however groundless, *electrified the House*, (as the attorney general expressed it). On this, he was obliged to divide the bill into several clauses. That of holding property, with liberty of purchasing, passed in my presence, with great liberality of sentiment, and experienced little opposition. The clause of religious toleration passed the Tuesday following, in much the same way; but, when our enemies perceived that we were advancing so rapidly, many of *them retired, and got quite drunk; and on their return to the House, caused such riot and confusion, that an adjournment immediately took place!*

"The next day I was informed, by one of the first characters in the nation, that the clause which they intended to bring forward regarding education would be highly prejudicial in its details to the interests of our religion: that the two clauses which had passed in the Commons would force their way through the Lords; but that if those regarding education and inter-

marriage with protestants were attached to it, the whole would be thrown out. On this I prevailed on Mr. Gardiner and our other friends to propose to the House to make a separate bill of the two first ; and, on that condition, to engage to bring in a second bill for the remaining points. When Fitzgibbon and all those who are adverse to any relief to us heard this, they spoke out ; and declared that they considered the two former such favors to the Roman catholics, that they should insist on having the others tacked to them to *promote uniformity*, or otherwise to reject the entire. Two days were spent in wrangling about this. The second day we had such an advantage of numbers, *from the support of the castle*, that had the question for dividing the bill into two been put early, we should have carried it two to one. But, unfortunately, a new *opera* was brought forward at the theatre that evening : many of our friends slipt away to it ; and when, at one o'clock in the morning the question was put, there were but thirty-six members in the House. Sir Richard Johnston singly divided against it in spite of the speaker,

and in that case it required forty members to conclude the business.

“ This day I thought it would have come on again, and been determined ; but Mr. Eden, on whom I waited this morning, tells me he believes it will be postponed for other business ; and on my expressing some uneasiness lest it might be put off till after the recess, he pledged his word that no recess should take place until it was passed, in its present form, through the Commons.

“ I own this sets my mind perfectly at ease, as I hope it will yours ; and though the bishops, particularly Cashel, are very violent and clamorous about it, I have reason not to doubt its success in the House of Lords. The two other bills will not have time to pass this sessions—the next, they will have more time to consider them ; and if they never pass, we shall be no losers thereby.

“ I am ever,
 “ with the highest respect and esteem,
 “ Your affectionate friend,
 “ KENMARE.”

The following abstract of the catholic bills of 1782, is taken from Mr. Parnell's History of the Penal Laws.*

By the first of these, catholics, provided they take the oath of allegiance, may purchase or take lands, or any interest therein; except advowsons, or boroughs returning members of parliament; and dispose of the same by will, or otherwise; and popish ecclesiastics, on the same condition, and registering their name and place of abode with the register of the diocese, are discharged from all penalties.

It repeals so much of 8th Anne, as subjects a papist to fine and imprisonment on his refusal to testify on oath before two justices of the peace, when and where he heard the popish mass celebrated, and the names of the persons celebrating it; and so much of 7th William III. c. 5. as subjects any papist who shall have in his pos-

* The History of the Penal Laws, by Mr. Parnell, is a book deserving praise for the tone of Christian toleration and manly independence, which is found in every page: in its details of the relaxation of the popery code, it is generally correct; but not equally exact or circumstantial in the history of the enactment of these laws.

session any horse of the value of £5 or more, to the penalties therein mentioned ; and so much of 8th Anne, as enables the lord lieutenant to seize any horse belonging to a papist, upon a prospect of invasion or rebellion. It also repeals so much of 9th George II. c. 6. as enables grand juries to reimburse such persons, as have been robbed by privateers in time of war, for their losses; and to levy the same on the goods of papists only ; and so much of 6th George I. c. 10. as subjects papists, who shall not provide a protestant watchman to watch in their turn, to certain penalties ; and so much of 2d Anne, c. 6. as subjects papists who took any house, or came to dwell in Limerick after the year 1703, or within the town of Galway, to certain penalties.

The act relative to education repeals so much of 7th William III. c. 4. and 8th Anne, c. 3. as subjects catholics, who shall publicly teach school, or privately instruct youth, to the like penalties as any regular popish convict, provided they take the oath of allegiance. It also enables catholics, except ecclesiastics, to be guardians.

In 1792 a bill was passed, by which catholics may be called to the bar, and may be admitted as students into the King's Inns. Attorneys may take catholic apprentices; and are relieved from the necessity of educating their children protestants; and barristers may marry catholic wives.

The last, and certainly the most valuable rights which were restored to the catholics by the Irish legislature, are contained in the act of 1793. For the substantial justice conferred on them by that bill, they were indebted, solely, to the recommendation of their cause by the late good King George III. to parliament. Previously to the benign interference of the monarch, every petition presented by them was rejected with indecent haste, or canvassed with acrimony, bigotry, and injustice.

By the clauses of this act, the substantial benefit of the elective franchise was restored to the catholics; and other rights and privileges of a minor order were, likewise, conceded to them. *

* In the Appendix F. will be found, an abstract of the laws now in force against the catholics, taken from the History of the Penal Laws.

These benefits conferred on his fellow-catholics, O'Leary lived to witness; and he had the gratification of reflecting, that his efforts had not been inefficient in their production. No one labored more sincerely for the promotion of brotherhood amongst all classes of his countrymen, than he did: this had been his earliest wish; and he had, through a long life, devoted to its advancement the resources of his powerful mind, and the labors of his eloquent and instructive pen. Every approximation of kindly sentiment, therefore, was hailed by him as a new triumph of benevolence; and his heart throbbed with a pulse of renewed delight, when reason and religion became blended in the extension and support of liberality and toleration.

The disturbances by which Ireland was convulsed in 1798 pained O'Leary's mind. The efforts made by the tools of a base faction, to give the tinge of religious fanaticism to the political distractions of that country, excited his indignation; and, as his name had been wantonly and insultingly introduced by Sir Richard Musgrave, in his libellous compilation of the Irish rebellions,

he entertained the notion of publishing a refutation of the calumnies which had been so industriously circulated against the catholics, not only in that scandalous work, but likewise in various other historical essays at that time. For this purpose, O'Leary had prepared some very valuable manuscript collections : he looked back to the history of the earlier periods of the English rule in Ireland; and from his friends in various parts of that kingdom he procured authentic details of the insurrectionary disturbances : impartiality was his object; and he left no means untried, to collect the most voluminous and exact account of every circumstance connected with, or immediately arising out of rebellion, the history of which he ultimately declared it his design to publish.

The progress of disease, and the rapidly increasing infirmities of old age, hindered the fulfilment of O'Leary's wishes : he was unable to proceed into any part of the task of composition ; but he was relieved from anxiety by the fortunate circumstance of his intimacy with Francis Plowden Esq., whose historical review of Ireland, and

whose subsequent publication in defence of that country, have raised him to a rank amongst historians honorably and deservedly conspicuous. When O'Leary learned that his friend was engaged, at the desire of Mr. Pitt, in writing the "Historical Review," he sent him his invaluable collections, as affording the best and most authentic materials for the recent history of Ireland; and the manner in which the documents, thus furnished, were applied to the purposes of truth, must have given gratification to O'Leary's mind, had he lived long enough to witness this successful vindication of his country and religion. His descent to the grave was too rapid to afford him that pleasure; and it was not till it had closed over his remains, that the world was gratified with the best and most authentic work ever published, on the political history of Ireland.

We approach now to the last scene of O'Leary's busy life; and it is one which, like too many others, preaches to mankind the necessity of being always prepared for

the unrevealed hour that shall terminate mortal existence.

Towards the end of the year 1801, ill health embittered his life. It shed a gloom over his mind, to which the consciousness of approaching dissolution gave facilities and permanency. His contests with bad men had been frequent ; and the frailties and follies of the world, and the instability of human friendship, which he had often experienced, haunted his mind at this time to a degree, that was painful for those who loved and revered him, to witness. His medical friends tried the resources of their professional skill for the alleviation of his disease in vain ; and as a last prescription, they recommended to him a short residence in the south of France, as calculated, if any thing could, to revive his spirits and restore his health. Agreeably to this advice, in company with Mr. M'Grath, a medical friend, to whose kindness he was much indebted, he proceeded to France ; but his hopes of relief were disappointed, and he shortly determined on returning to London. The state in which he found society in France—so different from what

it had been, when he first visited “the lovely, fertile south,” shocked him ; and he uttered his opinion of the change which he witnessed, by saying, emphatically, “that there was not now a *gentleman* in all France.”

His arrival in London was on the 7th of January 1802. It was his intention to have landed at Dover ; but tempestuous weather compelled the vessel, in which he was, to land at Ramsgate. The effects of this voyage tended to hasten his death, which took place on the morning after his arrival in London, in the 73d year of his age. His dissolution was rather sudden ; and, but for the circumstance of his intimate friend and countryman, Mr. John Murphy, of Howland Street, having entered his room for the purpose of making inquiry after his health, he would have closed his life, without those invaluable aids and consolations, which the catholic church so profusely affords to her children in the last sad struggle of expiring nature. Mr. Murphy procured the attendance of Rev. Mr. Gaffy, a neighbouring clergyman, who administered the extreme unction to his dying

friend, and in whose presence he breathed forth the sigh of dissolution. His death took place at Mrs. Smith's, No. 45. Great Portland Street.

On the evening of the 13th of January, his remains were removed to St. Patrick's Chapel ; where, on the next day, a solemn dirge and high mass were celebrated. A funeral sermon was also pronounced by the Rev. Morgan D'Arcey, which was afterwards printed.

The body was interred at St. Pancras' church-yard, and a monument placed over it by the present Marquis of Hastings, then Earl Moira—a nobleman who highly valued his benevolent countryman, and who sought, by this last tribute, to convey to posterity his respect for virtue, and his admiration of genius. It is not a little remarkable, that the prayer “*Requiescat in pace,*” usually appended to the sepulchral memorials of catholics, was originally desiderated on O'Leary's monument. Struck with the omission, Mr. George Gahagan, the letter cutter, has recently supplied it.

Even to the grave O'Leary was followed by the affectionate piety of those whom, when alive, he had instructed by his elo-

quence, and taught by his example. The vacant ground in the vicinage of his tomb was, after his interment, eagerly purchased from the sexton for the formation of graves; and his ashes are now literally surrounded by the families to whom, when living, he was dear, and who, even in the last silent depositary of the dead, sought to manifest their appreciation of his character, and their veneration of his memory. A monument was also placed in St. Patrick's Chapel, with the following inscription:

Sacred to the Memory of the
 Reverend ARTHUR O'LEARY, O.S.F.
 whose useful Labors in the Vineyard of the Lord,
 in France, England, and Ireland his native Country,
 during the Space of forty-four Years,
 and the great Improvement in the Morals of the Poor,
 wherever he preached the Gospel,
 bear Testimony of his fervid Piety, discreet Zeal, and
 steady Loyalty.

He died in *London* the eighth Day of January MDCCCII,
 Aged 70.*

Requiescat in Pace.

Father O'Leary was, in size, over the middle stature—stiff and erect in his move-

* This is erroneous—it ought to be 72; see page 291, *supra*.

ments ; and, in his manner, quite original. These peculiarities did not, in him, produce their usual effect of exciting diffidence or reserve in those with whom he conversed. The native kindness of his heart overcame every external barrier ; and he mixed in society, a much sought after and welcome guest. Good sense, unaffected piety, and extensive knowledge, gained him the respect and admiration of the learned and grave ; whilst, by his unbounded wit, fascinating anecdote, and unrivalled brilliancy of imagination, he was the source of delight and entertainment to all whom he admitted to his intimacy.

As a clergyman, O'Leary was, above the ordinary meaning of the phrase, sincerely pious. His occasional retreats for devotional purposes were frequent ; and, as has already been remarked, he, for many years, fondly cherished the hope of being enabled to end his days in a peaceful retirement from the bustle and business of active life.

As a preacher, although provincial in his accent, and wanting grace in his manner, he was universally admired. A nervous,

copious eloquence flowed from his lips; and the current of thought was rather delightfully coloured than interrupted by the exuberance of his characteristic fancy. His controversial sermons were extremely valuable; and some very distinguished individuals could be named, who were led by his doctrinal instructions to embrace the catholic creed. A collection of his sermons in manuscript was, some time since, entrusted for perusal to the writer, by Mr. George Keating, of London. In their present state, they are not, perhaps, quite fit for the perusal of the fastidious critic; but a selection may, with some pains, be made from them, which would be found useful to the cause of religion and morality, and honorable to the memory of their author.

O'Leary's professional acquirements were extensive; and few men ever exhibited a more striking combination of varied and valuable learning, with amiable and unaffected reserve, than he did.

The following outline of O'Leary's character, drawn during his lifetime, by Mr. Pratt, in his novel entitled "Family Se-

crets," under the name of Father Arthur, will be readily recognised as correct, by those to whom he was known.

" Father Arthur connected the wisdom of the world with the innocence of pastoral, and even, of primitive manners. His benevolence was of the most unaffected kind; and his piety fervid and sincere; his manners, the most winning and artless, anticipating his good will and urbanity before he opened his lips; and, when they were opened, his expressions did but ratify what those manners had before ensured. And you had a further earnest of this in the benign and ineffable smile of a countenance, so little practised in guile, that it at the same time invited to confidence, and denoted an impossibility of your being betrayed. But, if his smile beckoned the worthy to approach, his frown struck terror into the heart of the guilty, and made him dread to advance. His voice was sonorous, bold, and nervous, corresponding with the manly and sterling sense it imparted. He had studied with labour, and written with ease and energy. His reasoning was sound; and his love of liberty a steady light rather

than a transient blaze ; rather the vital principle of an honest mind, conscious of its right, than the ravings of a factious spirit infected by popular phrenzy. All he said, and all he did, was genuine, even to his most trifling sports. The reader will, therefore, prejudge the zeal of his devotion. It was glowing without rage, and earnest without prejudice.

“ Our respected franciscan discovered the cloyster in his dress and deportment : not that he first exhibited his gown of coarse serge, his cord, or his rosary ; but, that his out of fashion suit of sables hung upon him somewhat monastically ; and the latter was stately and inflexible enough to have characterised the fellow of one of our colleges.

“ He was nearly six feet high—a perfect perpendicular, with a kind of rigor in his muscles that seemed to suffer from bending : there was, of course, a formality in his bows, and this, in some measure, extended to his address ; but an original vein of humour and quaint joculariry rendered him gay with the sprightly, in the same proportion that his more solid powers made him

sedate with the grave. It was scarcely possible to meet with a person so universally acceptable to all ranks of people : his society was sought and appreciated by men and women of all persuasions ; and his life, in all its changes, from the monk in his cell to the man of the world—from the social friend to the solitary recluse, had been so unspotted and blameless, that, to boast an acquaintance with Father Arthur was an honor ; and to possess that honor, without love and veneration, impossible.

“ Such,” concludes Mr. Pratt, “ was the blameless priest, who is known to have long considered himself as an advocate, pleading for the protestant in France, and for the jew in Lisbon, as well as for the catholic in Ireland :—the patriot, whose loyalty is sound ; the philanthropist, who, clothing humanity in the robes of eloquence, employed his voice and pen in exhorting mankind to lay aside religious distinctions, since it was equal to the Israelite released from bondage, whether his temple was built by Solomon or by Cyrus, provided he had liberty to pray unmolested, and to sleep under his own vine.”

Father O'Leary's Tracts appeared in 1781, for the first time in a collected form. His subsequent publications were added in succeeding editions ; and they, at present, occupy a place in the libraries of those who value the effusions of an original and well-informed mind, and who cherish just sentiments of civil and religious liberty. The style of these writings is unequal : at times, it rises to a pitch of classical and highly animated eloquence ; but it not unfrequently is deficient in ease and grace. He wrote with rapidity, and generally on occasional subjects ; and it required more leisure to divest his first essays of exuberance and redundancy, than his avocations would always permit, or the necessity of speedy publication allow. In those countries, in France and in America, his name is coupled with the vindication of freedom of conscience ; and, whether we contemplate him as a Christian priest, a philanthropist, or an honest man, his character and conduct are not susceptible of a nobler or better deserved eulogium.

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APPENDIX A.

(Referred to at Page 47.)

THE laws against priests, which are noticed in the body of the work, were found, notwithstanding their severity, insufficient to deter that devoted class of men from pursuing, with unabated ardour, their missionary labours in their native country. To effect this purpose, therefore, other more ferocious, more degrading, and relentless means were contemplated by their persecutors; and towards the close of the reign of George I., the heads of a bill were sent for the royal approbation, of which the following account is given in a scarce but elegantly written little work, printed in Paris in 1759, entitled “*Essai sur l’histoire d’Irlande.*” In the concluding paragraph of the last page it is stated to have been written by Abbé Henegan, Doctor of Sorbonne, and Provisor of the College of Lombards, in Paris. The deputy from the Irish clergy alluded to in it, was the catholic bishop of Waterford, whose name the present writer believes to have been Lloyd.

“*Le parlement d’Irlande, peu content d’avoir poussé les choses à cet excès, a projeté & même dressé deux autres actes, encore, plus inouïs. Le premier acte établit la castration, & le second,*

la peine de mort, contre les ecclésiastiques, qui rentreroient dans le royaume. Le roi Georges I. dont la douceur & l'humanité envers les sujets catholiques de ses états, avoient déjà éclaté en tant d'occasions, n'eut garde, non plus que son conseil, d'accorder la sanction royale à de pareilles horreurs. Les princes catholiques, & particulièrement la cour de France, avoient employé leurs bons offices pour le confirmer dans sa résolution. Cette cour étoit alors dans d'étroites liaisons avec celle d'Angleterre. M. le Duc d'Orleans gouvernoit la France au nom de sa majesté Louis XV. C'est à lui que s'adressa le député du clergé catholique, pour avoir sa protection auprès de la cour Britannique. M. le Régent le reçut avec bonté ; mais il lui insinua qu'il auroit mauvaise grâce d'intercéder pour les catholiques d'Irlande, tandis que des princes de leur croyance persécutoient les protestants ; et que ceux-ci avoient dans leur états un droit pareil à ceux-la. Sur quoi le député, homme d'esprit & de mérite, pria S. A. R. de lui permettre d'exposer la disparité entière qui se trouve entre les uns & les autres. Ce prince éclairé, ayant témoigné qu'il lui feroit grand plaisir de le mettre au fait d'une chose qu'il ne concevoit pas assez, le député lui fit remarquer la différence que les loix des empereurs & des rois ont toujours mise entre ceux qui n'ont fait que suivre leur ancienne religion, quelque erronée qu'elle pût

être, & ceux qui se sont efforcés d'établir de nouvelles sectes dans leur états : que le droit des nations, toujours ami du repos & du bon ordre, autorise à reprimer, & même à exterminer, celles-ci ; au lieu que ceux qui professent une religion même erronée, qui a été la religion de l'état, de toute la nation, & de toutes les nations voisines, dont ils ont fait profession de temps immémorial, & avant l'introduction du culte qu'on suppose être le seul véritable, doivent être ramenés à ce culte, par la douceur & la persuasion, mais jamais par la rigueur & la violence : que les républiques Grecques & Romaine, aussi-bien que les premiers empereurs, tant païens que chrétiens, ont toujours observé cette maxime fondamentale du droit des gens : que, quoique les royaumes & les provinces dont les Grecs & les Romains faisoient la conquête, eussent des opinions particulières touchant leurs divinités, lesquelles étoient regardées comme pernicieuses par ces républicains, on ne trouve cependant pas qu'ils eussent jamais vexé ces peuples soumis à leur domination. 'Ils se contentoient,' continua-t-il, 'd'établir parmi eux leur propre culte, sans toucher à la religion, ni à la langue, des nations conquises. Les empereurs chrétiens les plus sages en ont usé de même envers les païens, dont le culte étoit, de l'aveu de tout le monde, une vraie abomination. Ils ont recommandé aux prédicateurs de l'évangile, aussi-bien qu'aux

gouverneurs de leurs provinces, de ne pas souffrir qu'on maltraitât personne par rapport à ses dispositions de persister dans la religion de ses pères. Lorsque les uns ou les autres manquoient à des conseils si raisonnables, ils attiroient sur eux-mêmes le blâme, & quelquefois l'indignation de ces princes, non moins chrétiens, que véritablement politiques. Les pères de l'église, les plus illustres par leur savoir & leur piété, ont applaudi en toutes occasions à une conduite si conforme aux maximes de l'évangile, en même temps qu'ils montraient un zèle invincible contre les sectes qui nassoient dans le sein du christianisme ; parceque la nouveauté de leur doctrine, le droit que l'église conservoit sur des membres qui lui avoient appartenu, & les desordres que les hérésies causent infalliblement dans les états, étoient des motifs suffisans & légitimes pour en arrêter les progrès, & pour en punir les auteurs. Ainsi, monseigneur,' conclut le sage député, ' de quelque œil que Messieurs les Anglicans puissent regarder notre religion, dont nous avons fait profession pendant l'espace de près de 1200 ans avant qu'il fût question de leur réforme, ils agissent également contre le droit des gens, & la douceur de l'évangile dont ils se disent les seuls vrais disciples, toutes les fois qu'ils nous vexent par rapport à notre croyance. Permis à eux de nous convaincre des erreurs qu'ils croient y trouver ; mais qu'ils nous laissent du moins jouir

d'une tranquillité, que nos pères ne refusoient point aux païens les plus opiniâtres & les plus endurcis.' Le Duc Règent goûta beaucoup ces raisons, remercia le député des lumières qu'il lui avoit données sur une question aussi importante, & lui promit qu'il en écriroit au roi d'Angleterre ; ce qu'il exécuta ponctuellement."

APPENDIX B.

(Referred to in Page 66.)

Archbishop Butler's Defence of the Oath of Allegiance.

Doctor James Butler's exculpatory memorial to the prefect of the congregation *de propagandâ fide*, after stating the kind and benevolent disposition manifested by the late good King George III. towards the oppressed and afflicted catholics, goes on to recount the calumnies which were propagated by their enemies, and the anxiety which led to the proposal of an oath of allegiance as a test of catholic loyalty. It then proceeds as follows :

“ Opportuno admodum tempore introducta est præfata sacramenti formula : enim vero ingens multitudo egenorum rusticorum infimæque plebiculæ catholicæ, in hâc præcipue australi provinciâ nostrâ vicinisque plagis, tumultuosis cœtibus, nocturnis rapinis, diversisque facinoribus, pacem regni (nobis frustra in adversum obnitentibus, obsecrantibus, & increpantibus) jampridem perturbaverant ; cumque potissimum desævirent in eos qui pro acatholicis ministris decimas colligebant, de suggestu inimicorum nostrorum, protinus orta est & propagata sus-

picio, quod Romani-catholici nefandum aliquid meditarentur.

“ Hâc famâ percrebrescente, conciliarii regis qui de catholicorum indole & affectione erga regem regnique pacem melius sentiebant, hâc datâ occasione, ipsis proponendum esse judicarunt fidelitatis juramentum, per quod, dicti catholici germanam ecclesiæ suæ fidem vindicare, semetipsos ab imminentibus vexationibus ac periculis liberare, nullumque in posterum invidiosis suspicionibus locum relinquere, possent.

“ Interea illustrissimus Archiepiscopus Dubliniensis, & plurimi nobiles ac melioris notæ catholici, fidem suam regiæ-que majestati præstare percupientes, ut omnem suspicionis & invidiæ ansam é medio tollerent, conventu habito in civitate Dubliniensi, quandam inter se sacramenti formulam excudebant; juxta quam, eodem ipso illustrissimo judice, omnes catholici, tutâ conscientiâ & salvâ fide, suam erga regem fidelitatem profiteri possent: quam quidem juramenti formulam, in propriis terminis typis Dublinii mandatam, ad eminentissimos patres mittendam duxi.

“ Dum hæc omnia Dublinii gererentur, nobis insciis & inconsultis, (quibus tamen ingens impendebat vindictæ procella, propter prædictos tumultus in nostrâ provinciâ excitatos) edita tandem est a parlamento formula sacramenti, omnibus Romano-catholicis proponendi, qui suam fidem regi Georgio tertio præstare vellent. Huic for-

mulæ subscribere non dubitabant plurimi in civitate Dubliniensi primæ notæ catholici, asserentes nimium, quod dicta sacramenti formula a parlamento proposita prorsus consona esset formulæ, quam illustrissimus Archiepiscopus Dubliniensis, ut supradictum est, penitus approbaverat. Circa idem tempus apparuit Dublinii libellus, autore incognito, graviter animadvertens in sacramenti formulam a parlamento propositam. Hoc ægrius ferebant catholici Dublinienses, qui suam præstiterant fidem; magnopere enim verebantur ne ex istius modi libello, quem nec inscio nec invito archiepiscopo suo in publicam lucem editum suspicabantur, respublica catholica magnum caperet detrimentum, novusque invidiæ fomes exoriretur.

“Nec profecto aliquid intempestivum magis, aut infaustum contingere potuit. Per longam enim temporis intervallum, sub benevoli regis nostri auspiciis sopitæ jam fuerant veteres inter catholicos et acatholicos inimiciæ, sensimque evanescere cœperant, apud protestantes, plurima insulsa præjudicia contra pontificiam religionem olim concepta.”

The archbishop gives in detail here the calumnies which were circulated against the catholics in general, and those of Munster in particular, where the disturbances caused by the Whiteboy riots principally prevailed. Their attachment to the family of James II. and the doctrine of the papal power of deposition of kings, which

they were said to entertain, were stated by their enemies as the chief causes why the oath of allegiance was not generally taken by the catholics; and these statements found a color of truth in the absurd and dangerous pamphlet alluded to by Dr. Butler. The memoir then proceeds:—

“ In hisce rerum angustiis, episcopi provinciæ Momoniensis Corcagiæ convenerunt, collatisque sententiis, unanimiter judicaverunt, consulendum quantocius religioni periclitanti & populo fidei satisfaciendum.

“ Quapropter, bonam regis nostri voluntatem perspicientes, persuasum quoque habentes, non esse sanctæ sedis apostolicæ mentem, ut catholicis hujus regni, nimium aliunde gravatis, strictius conscientiæ jugum imponatur quam ferre solent regum catholicorum subditi; inhærentes pariter vestigiis novissimorum summorum pontificum qui, per singulares gratias præcipuosque honores serenissimis regis nostri fratribus in almâ urbe impensos, non solum in se, verum etiam in catholicos horum regnorum, regis nostri benevolentiam provocarent; demum, non leviter sperantes futurum ut, proximis regni comitiis, prævalente in senatu regis potentiâ, ad æquiorem normam pro communi bono redigantur leges, quarum iniquitas, ut probé novit ill^a ac R^a D^{tio} vestra, plurimos nostræ communionis fortunarum suarum male providos, ex gremio

sanctæ matris ecclesiæ ad protestantium partes singulis annis convolare cogit.

“ Hisce rationibus permoti, dum ferox interim gereretur et adhuc geritur rebellio in Americâ, præsules Momonienses sententiam suam de sacramento formulâ a parlamento propositâ, sequentibus terminis expressam, populo catholico significandam censuerunt; prius tamen consultis academiis Parisiensi & Lovaniensi.”

Here is inserted the declaration of the Munster bishops on the oath of allegiance, as found in the body of the work. After which, the memorial proceeds:—

“ Cum enim in dictâ formulâ duriori licet stylo exaratâ, nihil supradictis præsulibus visum esset sacrosanctæ fidei dogmatibus contrarium, non otiose contra usitatum legum stylum disputandum, satius duxerunt, ne ullis suspicionibus daretur locus. Nec inutilis fuit hujus nostræ sententiæ publicatio; divinâ enim providentiâ omnia suaviter disponente, cito evanuit ista calvinistica procella, quæ catholicis nostræ provinciæ proxime imminebat, eorumque futuræ incolumitatis spes melior jam effulget.

“ At, proh dolor! dum hoc difficile negotium ab episcopis Momoniensibus non minus feliciter (Deo adjuvante) quam solícite tractaretur, repente, non sine magno animi stupore & angore, acceperunt, quod procurante ill. archiepiscopo

Dublinsiensi, sacramenti formula â parlamento proposita, a S. S. domino nostro & a sacra congregatione graviter notata fuisset ; & quod idem illustrissimus litteras de hoc accepisset ab eminentissimâ ac reverendissimâ D^{om} vestrâ.

“ Ne ullus dubitationi locus superesset, scripsi sine mora ad illustrissimum Dub. qui nec mentem suam aperire, nec litterarum Em. ac Rev. Dom. vestræ tenorem, prout vehementissime desiderabatur, significare dignatus est. Quod autem idem illus. mihi enixissime roganti indicare noluit, hoc fusiori stylo scripsit aliis, nec sanè, absque memoracione parum decorâ episcoporum Momoniensium.

Quæ cum ita essent, non levis orta est nobis suspicio, quod, sive incuriâ sive occultis de causis investigare non juvat, germanus præfati sacramenti sensus minus accuraté redditus et expositus fuerit eminentissimæ ac Rev. Dom. vestræ, quod, ut clarius innotescat, eamdem formulam, qualis ex parlamento in publicam lucem prodiit, simul cum procemio ipsi præfixo, hic subnectere supervacaneum non erit.”

A Latin version of the act of parliament and the oath is here inserted : —

“ Ex procemio,” continues the archbishop, “ facile perspiciet Eminentissima ac Rev. vestra Dom. finem, quem per hanc sacramenti formulam sibi proposuerat senatus noster — scilicet, ad extinguendas inimicitias quæ suam duxerant ori-

ginem ex certis doctrinis, non quales realiter tenet Romano-catholica ecclesia, sed quæ ipsi *imputatæ & ascriptæ* fuerant a quibusdam, ut odium sanctæ sedi conciliaretur; ac proinde, non fuisse consilium senatûs nostri ut ista sacramenti formula contineret aliquid dogmatibus fidei nostræ contrarium, seu authoritati ecclesiæ catholicæ adversum aut contumeliosum, quam, ut bene norunt protestantes, Christi sponsam esse immaculatam ac infallibilem et prædicamus & profiteamur; ita ut, Sancto Spiritu suggerente, non possit licentiam dare ad scelus aliquod perpetrandum, vel ad violandum justum ac licitum sacramentum. Norunt insuper protestantes, quod catholici hujus regni nunquam non rejicerint omnia ista sacramenta per leges stabilita, in quibus aliquid sacrosanctæ fidei Romano-catholicæ offensivum deprehenderetur.

“ Non ergo nobis in vitium vertetur ab Em. ac Rev. D^{ne} vestrâ quicquid in hoc negotio egimus pro communi bono ac tranquillitate afflictæ nostræ ecclesiæ. Humanitas vestra simul cum Em. patribus nostris potius exhibebit nos ad pedes sanctissimi patris nostri devotissime provolutos, cum cathedrâ Petri arctissime conjunctos, sacrosanctæ fidei Romano-catholicæ tenacissimos, & pro eâ vitalem sanguinem profundere paratos: certos insuper, quod ea non sit sanctæ sedis apostolicæ sententia, ut omnes horum regnorum catholici exponere se debeant odio & invidiæ

protestantium, sævoque furori calvinistarum, propter certas quasdam doctrinas probabiles, quæ, quantumlibet gravi fundamento nitantur, repugnant tamen quam maxime sollicitæ hujus regni formæ & indoli, pariterque, pacis omnino perturbativæ judicantur ab iis qui in sublimitate sunt : præsertim cum dictæ doctrinæ in pluribus catholicis regionibus ultro rejiciantur, illæsâ semper & integrâ sacrosanctâ fide Romano-catholicâ.

“ Jam vero, statim intelliget Em. ac Rever. D^{tio} vestra quod, si per sanctissimi patris nostri & sacræ congregationis auctoritatem, prohibeantur catholici hujus regni a præstanda fide regiæ majestati juxta dicti juramenti tenorem, prout illustrissimum Dubliniensem vehementer desiderasse satis liquet (quia tamen, aliam juramenti formulam huic simillimam, nobis insciis & inconsultis, palam approbaverat, suumque gregem hoc pacto ad jurandum primus omnium induxerat), gloriaturi sint profecto inimici nostri, nec suggerere cessabunt, hanc inhibitionem manifestum esse indicium, quod Romano-catholica doctrina inimica quam maxime sit paci ac formæ hujas imperii ; ac, proinde, quod leges pœnales contra catholicos, nedum, propter nimiam severitatem abrogandæ, immo potius, prudentissime & æquissime institutæ ac latæ fuerint.

“ Absit, denique procul absit, a nobis, Em. ac Rev. Domine, ut aliquid unquam scienter

admittamus quod S. S. patri nostro, eminentissimisque patribus molestiam et angorem afferre possit. Quicquid agimus in hoc negotio, pro incolumitate ac pace nostræ vexatæ ecclesiæ gestum est, cum simplici oculo et integrâ conscientiâ ; nec dubitamus quin nostra agendi ratio rei catholicæ melius profutura sit, quam zelosa contentio pro certis opinionibus, quæ apud nos neque ad rem, neque ad fidem nostram pertinere dignoscuntur.

“ Oramus tandem ut Em. ac Rev. D^r vestra, pro suo singulari bonitate, devotionem nostram erga sanctissimum patrem declarare dignetur, quem, divino nutu & consilio, ad summum apostolatûs apicem auctum lætantes ac gratulabundi agnoscimus ; simul & Omnipotentem Dominum enixissime obsecrantes, ut perturbata diu hæc nostra ecclesia sub felici pontificatu sanctissimi patris nostri Pii Sexti, a pœnarium legum vexationibus aliquo modo liberata, quietam tandem & tranquillam vitam agat, floreat & amplificetur, sitque ejusdem sanctissimi gaudium & corona in Domino. Interea fausta omnia, ex intimo gratitudinis, devotionis & observantiæ sensu, Em. ac Rev. D. vestræ eminentissimisque patribus nostris precor, & subscribor

“ Eminentissimæ & Rev. D^{is} suæ

“ humillimus, addictissimus,

“ & obsequissimus famulus,

“ JAC. BUTLER, &c. &c.”

APPENDIX C.

(Referred to in Page 201.)

A Pastoral Letter to the catholic clergy of the united dioceses of Waterford and Lismore. By the R. R. Dr. Hussey.

Dearly beloved brethren in Christ,

In these critical and awful times, when opinions seem spreading over this island of a novel and dangerous tendency; when the remnants of old oppression and new principles which tend to anarchy, are struggling for victory, and which in the collision may produce the ruin of religion; when a moral earthquake shakes all Europe, I felt no small affliction and alarm, upon receiving the superior command of the head of the church, to preside over the catholics of these united dioceses, upon the death of your most venerable and ever to be regretted prelate, your late bishop.

In the midst of these fears and alarms, it was a great consolation to me, to be assured of the piety, zeal, and loyalty of the clergy under my spiritual care; and that their exertions were constantly employed to keep the laity within the bounds of religion, morality, and decorum. That no part of Ireland was more exempt from

turbulence and insubordination to the laws, than this district; and that the memory of the illegal injustices and cruelties formerly practised in this country by men, who made religious distinctions a stalking horse for political purposes, is completely and happily effaced, I hope, for ever.

It is upon you, very reverend and dearly beloved brethren, that, under God, my reliance is, that the catholic faith will produce its happy effects in mending and improving the morals of the flock, which I commit to your care respectively. Let me beseech you, to attach yourselves to them, by frequently instructing and exhorting them, especially as often as you approach the sacred altar; and certainly you cannot fail to attach them to you, by such a pious, exemplary, and zealous conduct. Do not permit yourselves to be made the instruments of the rich of this world, who will try, by adulations, and possibly by other means, to make instruments of you over the poor, for their own temporal purposes, and perhaps to render your sacred ministry odious to them. The poor were always your friends, they inflexibly adhered to you, and to their religion, even in the worst of times: they shared their scanty meal with you, and with your predecessors, and thereby preserved a succession of spiritual pastors throughout the kingdom. If they had acted otherwise, conformed to the errors of the nation, and imitated the conduct

of the rich, who not only shut their doors against you, but not unfrequently hunted you like wild beasts, I should not be able to address the present respectable body of clergy under my spiritual authority. Such a consideration cannot fail to enliven your zeal, and, with affectionate attachment towards them, to impel you to instruct them in their duties, to restrain their errors, and to correct their vices. Argue, obsecra, increpa, in omni patientia, & doctrina. Upon all proper occasions, speak to them the words of eternal life, without fear or deference towards the enemies of our holy faith. The pastor who doth not act in this manner towards his flock, hath lost the grace of his vocation, or perhaps he never received it from God. He is the mercenary shepherd described in the scripture, who, upon seeing the wolf, runs away and abandons his flock an easy prey to him.

At the same time that I charge you to avoid all political interferences, as unworthy the ministers of him, whose kingdom is not of this world, I call upon you to stand firm against all attempts which may be made, under various pretexts, to withdraw any of your flocks from the belief and practice of the catholic religion. Remonstrate with any parent who will be so criminal as to expose his offspring to those places of education, where his religious faith or morals are likely to be perverted. If he will not

attend to your remonstrances, refuse him the participation of Christ's body : if he still should continue obstinate, denounce him to the church, in order that, according to Christ's commandment, he be considered as a heathen and a publican.

If, in any of your districts, the catholic military frequent protestant places of worship, it is your duty to expostulate with them, and to teach them how contrary to the principles of the catholic faith it is, exteriorly to profess one faith and interiorly to believe another. That such hypocrisy, even in the eyes of the world, is mean and pusillanimous, as well as odious and abominable in the sight of God. That the military garb they wear, implies a manly candor, which abhors such duplicity. That this manly candor is peculiarly the character of an Irish soldier, who ought not to be ashamed of openly professing the catholic religion—the religion of Irishmen. Instruct them, that in all matters regarding the service of the king, their officers are competent to command them, and that they are bound to obey ; but in matters regarding the service of the King of Kings, their officers have no authority over them. Their personal religion is their own natural, uncontrollable, imprescriptible right, subject to the spiritual of the catholic church, and over which the laws of the land cannot enjoy a coercive authority. In

all temporal matters, they are subject to their temporal rulers. In all spiritual matters, they are subject to their spiritual rulers. These two authorities, like parallel lines in mathematics, can never touch each other. By the smallest declination they lose even their name. Guard them from being deluded by the hacknied phrase of liberality of sentiment. Surely, liberality of sentiment does not consist in holding all creeds, and all forms of worship, to be equal? He who thus expresses himself is a latitudinarian, who despises all creeds—all forms of worship! The man of true liberality is he, who conscientiously believes, and scrupulously follows that creed and form of worship which is conformable to his conscience, yet lives in charity, in concord, in amity with all others of every religious persuasion. The man of true liberality is he who employs his conscience as the helm with which he steers, in his religious voyage, leaving others to steer theirs by a similar guide. The man of true liberality is he with whom a difference in religious opinions makes no difference in social life—living in equal harmony with all, and frequently bestowing more kindness and more bounty upon those who differ from him in religious opinions, when they want it more, than upon those of his own communion. The man of true liberality is he, who, when raised above the rest to govern a great people,

scorns to attend to the paltry distinctions of sect or party ; spurns from his presence those interested advisers of a dangerous faction, who would dishonor him and abuse the sacred name of majesty, to enrich themselves ; but, like a true patriot, raises to power and influence those whom, in his conscience, he thinks of most ability and integrity, to serve king and country. To sum up the whole, the truly liberal man is he who makes his religion the guide for his own personal and private conduct, and not a rule to guide, to govern, or to compel others to act against their conscience and their religion.

The many compulsory means lately employed, (and several instances of them within this very diocese, not many days since) to drive the catholic military to protestant places of worship, alarmed the true friends to the king and his service, and every well wisher to the peace and quiet of the country. Such unwarrantable steps could not make proselytes of the catholic military ; it might, in time, make them indifferent to all forms of worship, and thereby jacobinize them upon the French scale, and, perhaps, in the hour of danger, induce them to forget their duty and their loyalty, in order to be revenged of their persecutors.

O ! how different are the principles of a catholic soldier, educated in the belief, and living in the full exercise of his religion ! He clearly con-

vinces his countrymen, that military valor is not inconsistent with religious piety ; but, that on the contrary, they are natural allies. That, when called to protect and defend his country, he is fearless and intrepid in the midst of danger ; his bosom glowing with this consideration, that his death upon his post, promotes him to a superior post in eternity. The unbeliever, who sees nothing beyond the grave, more naturally shrinks from the danger of his dissolution ; or, if he seems to assume courage, it is either the brutal insensibility of his temper, or an artificial mask, which he puts on to screen him from the contempt which is sure to follow cowardice. But, the courage and intrepidity of a true catholic, in the discharge of his duty, is a calm heroic intrepidity, which sees the danger in his road, but sees immortality beyond it. He marches courageously on, sure, that if he falls, it is to rise again beyond the grave. But, when the unbeliever sees the danger, he sees nothing beyond it, and thinks, that if he falls, that moment puts a final and a fatal period to all his schemes of ambition, of fortune, of pleasure ; and he sinks into eternal night, never—never to rise again. Surely, such an impious idea is capable of transmuting even a naturally brave man into a cowardly slave. Let me say all in one sentence. Those sentiments of intrepidity, of fidelity, of honor, which high birth and polished education impress upon

those of an elevated sphere in life, cannot be superior to the sentiments of fidelity, of courage, and of honor, which the catholic religion, if sincerely believed, and piously practised, would inspire into the lowest in the ranks ; and who, if his duty calls him, would shew a courage and intrepidity equal to Alexander and Cæsar, and as unsullied loyalty and integrity as those statesmen and generals, who regulate kingdoms, or who defend them.

In all your proceedings, very reverend and dearly beloved brethren, avoid intermixing the politics of the world with the sublime and heavenly maxims of the catholic religion : they have not the smallest connection with each other : the one is spiritual, the other is temporal ; the one regards the transitory affairs of this world, the other, the eternal affairs of the world to come. As the catholic faith is a religion preached to all nations, and to all people, so it is suitable to all climes, and all forms of government : monarchies or republics, aristocracies or democracies, despotic or popular governments, are not the concerns of the catholic faith. It may well suit a small sect, to regulate its creed and form of worship, according to the shape and form of government of the limited boundaries where that sect arose, exists, and dies away ; not so the religion, which the prophet foretold should extend from the rising to the setting sun ; which

has been propagated and promulgated from Peru to China, from the East to the West Indies, from pole to pole, teaching the same doctrine, administering the same sacraments, and offering up the adorable sacrifice of the Redeemer, wherever man is found and God adored. It is, therefore, called the catholic or universal religion. It may well suit the laity of your respective districts, to pursue their temporal concerns, and their temporal politics, by such ways as appear to them fair, peaceable, and loyal ; and their past conduct is a proof that they are incapable of pursuing them by any other means. If their conduct has always been loyal and peaceable, even in the worst of times ; if, even when religious penalties made them total strangers to their native land ; if, when the ruling party, with insolence in their looks, and oppression in their hands, ground them down ; when some of the most powerful men in the nation, declared in the senate, that they hoped to see the day when no catholic would dare to speak to a protestant with his hat on ; when, even the course of justice was perverted, and the channels of it dried up, according to the prejudices and party views of the judges who sat upon the bench, and were paid for the impartial administration of it by taxes levied upon the oppressed sufferers ; yet, even in these provoking times, if the body of the catholics remained inflexibly attached to their

religion, and to their king, what have you to dread from their proceedings, when not only the judges are equitable and humane, but also a great part of these impolitic religious penalties are removed, and the rest of them in such a state of progress to be totally removed? That however a junto, for their own interested or other sinister views, may raise mobs to try to throw obstacles against the total repeal of them, yet all their efforts must be useless. The vast rock is already detached from the mountain's brow; and whoever opposes its descent and removal, must be crushed by his own rash endeavours. The popery laws are upon the eve of being extinguished for ever; and may no wicked hand ever again attempt to divide this land, by making religious distinctions a mask to divide, to disturb, to oppress it!

Make your flock sensible to the honor of being accounted a member of the catholic communion; that they are not members of a small sect, limited to that country where the sect itself was formed. They are members of a great church, which has lasted more than 1,700 years, which flourished in every part of the habitable world. "In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum, & in fines terræ verba eorum;" and, that Christ has promised, that it will flourish until time shall be no more. "Usque ad consummationem sæculi, portæ inferi non prævalebunt adversus eam." That conse-

quently, they should not be ashamed to belong to a religion, which so many kings and princes, so many of the most polished and learned nations of the world, glory in professing.

Remind them, that two centuries of persecution have tried in vain to pervert them: that the annals of the church, the history of mankind, does not afford another example, like theirs, of perseverance in their religious principles. That we find, in the history of every other nation or people, that a much shorter time was sufficient, by penal restrictions of religion, to gain over the people to the religion of the state; but that two centuries of persecuting laws, immense sums of money given by parliament to gain over proselytes, and levied upon those very people, whose creeds they thereby endeavour to purchase, left still the great body of the nation faithful to that spark, which St. Patrick lighted at the great altar of the catholic church, and spread over this island; and that nine-tenths of the nation at large, and ninety-nine hundredths of this diocese, are still faithful and steady catholics, notwithstanding what they and their ancestors suffered for their fidelity, and for which they are as unrivalled in the history of the church, as insulated an exception to the prevaricating versatility of man, as the geographical situation of the island itself is to the rest of the world.

The portion of the catholics of Ireland, which God has committed to my spiritual care, I call upon you, very reverend and dearly beloved brethren, as my coadjutors and assistants, to aid me, by word and by example, to instruct and to feed, with the word of salvation and with the bread of angels. It is a laborious, but it is also a meritorious and an honorable employment. It forms the strongest bulwark to the state, by being the best supplement to the laws, which, without morals, are vain. A faithful discharge of these duties will form our crown and our glory, when, at the last day, the supreme pastor will come to judge us, and to judge the world.

A LETTER from Mr. Burke to Dr. Hussey.

My dear friend,

I hope in God this letter will find you in Ireland. From the moment that the government, who employed you, betrayed you, they determined at the same time to destroy you. They are not a people to stop short in their course. You have come to an open issue with them. On your part, what you have done, has been perfectly agreeable to your duty as a catholic bishop, and a man of honor and spirit. Whether it is equally agreeable to those rules of circumspect prudence, which ought to have their weight, perhaps, in an enslaved country,

may admit of some question. That many of your people will be ready to condemn you, is very probable : it is more than probable that they will give you but a feeble support ; however, the less you have to rely on others, the more you are to rely upon yourself. There is nothing I wish for more than to have some conversation with you. But if, just now, you were to come to England, it would be construed into a flight from the attack of Lord ——— and Mr. ——— : at the same time that you will naturally act in a manner agreeable to the courageous dispositions which you have from principle, from disinterestedness, and a degree, perhaps, from mental constitution, you will be careful to preserve that temper, which the conflict, which I fear you will be called to, will certainly require. I expect you will be called before Lord D——'s committee. I did not conceive that a man of so little estimation in either kingdom would have the lead of the House of Lords committed to him, without some purpose that required that kind of instrument. I, therefore, am of opinion, that, instead of coming direct from W——d to England, you ought to go without delay to Dublin. How could they expect that you, a catholic bishop, should not prefer your own religion to all others ? How could they expect that you should be of any other opinion than mine, in which, you

know, we frequently agreed, "that if the catholics were seduced or bullied from the only religion they have or can have, they must fall into indifference, or into actual atheism, or its concomitant direct tendency, actual rebellion?" How could they expect, that if you, as a catholic pastor, did not strongly assert the advantages and preeminence of your religion, yet, as a good citizen, you would endeavour to keep the people attached to the only religion which they can possibly have? How dare they assert it is not the religion of the country, in which more than two to one in your diocese are of your communion? If they should say, as that buffoon D——n does, that this is the religion of the common people, it is only to speak more in its favor, because it is for them that all religion, and eminently the Christian religion, is meant for a guide, for a control, and for a consolation. These are principles you have always held. To be sure, Christ himself has given as a conclusive proof, in his answer to John the Baptist, of his divine mission, that the gospel was preached to the poor. The other part of the divine answer, if you cannot imitate in miracle, you may, as you have always done, imitate in charity. As to what you said to the soldiers, why should it be wrong in you to say of them, exactly what Tertullian has said of the Roman soldiers in his day? You cannot alter the language of the church;

and I believe there is no protestant pastor (and I believe you may appeal to his grace of Cashel), who should attempt, by any rigor inflicted or threatened, to bring his people to mass. Who would or could mean any other language than what you have done? The great point for you (as I wrote to you before in my first long letter, because I knew that the castle junto so absolutely deny the fact), is to establish the circumstance either of menace, coercion, or punishment, as the case may be. When you have bottomed yourself well upon these facts, you need not be afraid to meet the vindictive Lord D—— upon this ground. I should not be sorry that the catholicity of this nobleman's family should be alleged as an excuse for thinking well of your religion, for that whatever respect you have for the present Lord D—— you cannot think better of him than you did of the old Lord, who certainly had been a most zealous catholic—that if any person of those families became more enlightened, you could have no objection to it—but you could not think the better of them on account of their conversion—and that you hoped they would not persecute you on principles which would equally well have justified a persecution of their ancestors and nearest relations. That you would heartily wish that every man in the kingdom had as much zeal for the crown, and as much

abhorrence for jacobinical principles as you have shewn. I revert to it again, you cannot leave Ireland until you have seen Dublin. There is a direct attack intended to be made on all your episcopacy. Dr. Troy has not fared better than you, notwithstanding his caution, and the sermons he has published against the taking of oaths. For I have this day a letter from a most respectable and dignified clergyman of the church of England, in which he tells me, that the Dublin Castle runners in London propagated every where, that this prelate actually had taken the oath of united Irishmen. If you have not wisdom enough to make common cause, they will cut you off one by one. If you are called on, my opinion is, that you ought to recapitulate all the proceedings at Laughlinstown; and to state, that you consider that as the pledge of government—that on your going to Ireland you will find the same course persevered in—that let them determine what they will, you are determined to do your duty—that if you have expressed your apprehensions from the persons commonly called the junto, it is nothing but what you are justified in by their own repeated declarations of dislike to your whole body, and the repugnance which they have always publicly expressed against the repeal of the several persecuting and disqualifying laws. This last is only a hint, in case they should urge you upon

the point. I feel as much concerned in you as if I was in my own person in Ireland, and in your situation, because you know I advised you to accept the D—e of P——d's invitation; though I confess (and I am sure you remember) that I trembled at your being committed at such times, and with such people; but I thought it an imperious duty, and so did yourself, to do every thing in your power to check the growth of jacobinism upon one hand, and oppression, which is its best friend, on the other. I hope you have put down what you intended about the protest you entered into with the D—e of P——d and Mr. P—t. Adieu, I am, with little ceremony, but great truth,

Yours, &c. &c.

Bath, 16th May 1797.

E. B.

APPENDIX D.

(Referred to in Page 226.)

*Pii Sexti Pontificis Maximi, ad Joannem Butler,
Baronem de Dunboyne, Episcopum Corcagiensem,
epistola.*

PIUS VI.

Venerabili fratri Joanni, Episcopo Corcagiensi,
salutem :

Incredibile est, venerabilis frater, qua admiratione concepti quoque animi dolore oppressi sumus, ex quo nobis certo allatum est nuncio, te ad eam vesaniam devenisse, ut matrimonium inire cum quadam heterodoxa muliere volueris, cum eaque nunc vivere in turpissimo concubinato non verearis. Id nobis portenti simile visum est, ut, qui in episcopatu plus quam tres et viginti transegit annos, nunc sacrarum legum, sui episcopalis characteris, denique suimet ipsius ita oblitus sit, ut tale in se suscepit dedecus, talemque in ecclesiam offensionem intulerit, ac animam suam in tale tantumque exitium, sciens volensque, projecit. Hoc tuo nefario facto exhorruimus plane animo; neque, præ intima sensus nostri perturbatione, perire nunc possumus quibus satis verbis hujusmodi sceleris tui

gravitatem exprimamus. Ast, inter cæteras hanc ob causam susceptas a nobis ægritudines, inter admirationis, detestationis, sollicitudinum, angorumque quibus agitamur motus, præcipua planeque paterna exurgit in nobis tui ipsius commiseratio, vehemensque desiderium, si quo modo fieri possit, ut ab isto iniquitatis ac miseriæ barathro educaris.

Primum igitur, ad Dei misericordiam pro te implorandam convertimur; ab eoque enixe petimus, ac per Filium suum Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum flagitamus, ut te ad cor tuum revocet, te tui admissi pudere ac pænitere faciat, tibi exurgendi voluntatem, tibi doloris lachrymarumque vim, quibus iniquitates abluas, quibus repares scandala, tibi denique, veram a perditionis via conversionem, per suam miserationem largiatur.

Porro te compellamus, te alloquimur, te obsecramus, frater, ut tuum agnoscas statum, tuum exhorrescas ac deplores scelus, ne severissimum illud, quod te manet, Dei iudicium tandem subire debeas, ac interim, in gravissimam peccati tui pœnam incurras, in ipso nempe scelere tuo relinquaris, et, cum in profundum veneris, jam contemnas.

Recordare qui fueris cum episcopi munere fungereris, quique nunc etiam sis, episcopalem retinens dignitatem quam tantopere deturpas et contaminas. Te igitur, quantum possumus

pontificii animi studio, hortamur in Domino ac obsecramus, frater, ut resipiscas : te monemus, te objurgamus, ac increpamus etiam, omniaque in te pastoralis amoris, sollicitudinis, ac reprehensionis officia adhibemus, quibus te tam perditum prolapsum ad animæ tuæ salutem, ad poenitentiam scilicet, excitare, erigere, ac inflammare valeamus.

At si, quod avertat Deus, conscientiae tuæ stimulos neglexeris ; si ad nostræ hujus vocis inclaminationem obsurdueris, tuoque in cæno et in tam opprobriosa vitæ turpitudine perseveraveris, nostro ipso munere coacti erimus eas tecum suscipere partes quas nunc tibi denunciamus, et comminamur, procedendi contra te ex sacrorum canonum sanctione, quæ qualis sit, tu ipse, qui episcopatu functus es tamdiu, ignorare non potes. Demum iterum, tibi conversionis ac poenitentiae spiritum a Deo implorantes, in ejusdem misericordiae auspiciis, apostolicam benedictionem tibi, venerande frater, ex animo impertimur.

Datum Romæ, die 9^a Junij 1787, pontificatus nostri, anno 13^o.

APPENDIX E.

(Referred to in Page 267.)

As the Trappists perform no ecclesiastical functions out of their monastery, nor cultivate the sciences, as some other religious orders do, though they had eminent men amongst them, manual labor is the very basis of their institution, knowing that idleness is the parent of vice. Thus, the principal part of their time is employed in husbandry; another part devoted to spiritual exercises, chiefly in the silence of the night; and another allotted to bodily rest. Thus, with them, labour and rest equal periods keep; and thus, by cultivating the ground with their hands, in edifying the neighbouring inhabitants by their conduct, and inspiring them with the love of work and virtue by their example, they were reckoned amongst the most useful subjects of the country in which they lived.

Nor is their attention to the sick to be passed over in silence. For the relief of such as wanted the means of medical assistance, they cultivated a botanical garden, and had in their monastery one of the most esteemed and best furnished dispensaries in Europe, from which all the poor of the neighbouring districts were supplied with the best medicines, and attended by physicians

and apothecaries, paid out of the revenues arising from the lands annexed to their monastery. Thus, their abode was not only the sanctuary of piety, but also the temple of health, at whose shrine no votive offering was presented, but tears of gratitude, and the prayers of thousands, rescued from sickness and death by the liberality of such disinterested benefactors.

Frugal and severe to themselves, generous and hospitable to others, the best of the produce of their lands was consecrated by them as the hallowed portion of widows, orphans, distressed cottagers, and strangers. Thus, if the two commandments, the love of God and our neighbour, on which the law of the prophets hangs, were effaced from the breasts of the inhabitants of the other spots of the globe, under the moss-grown dome of the famous abbey of La Trappe they would have been found, with all their influence and energy. The inhabitants of that venerable pile even refined upon the second great precept; for, in reality, with regard to this world, they loved their neighbour more than they loved themselves. For him they reserved all the conveniencies their monastery could afford; for themselves, all the severity and rigour of penance. Who could imagine that such a body of men (to whom pagan Greece and Rome, that admired so much a Bias, a Crates, a Zeno, for their disinterestedness in renouncing riches,

would have erected statues), should ever become victims of persecution, or be forced to fly a country, to whose natives they had administered so many comforts! In the clergy of France, who either cultivated the sciences in universities, or the shades of cloisters, or preached the truths of the Christian religion in towns and cities, or enjoyed those revenues secured to them by a long prescription, requisite for the support of the dignity of the first order of the state, wherever an ecclesiastical hierarchy is established: in such ecclesiastics infidelity discovered formidable opponents; or rapacity and plunder, objects of envy. But how could the Trappists (who never meddle with the pulpit or press, whose field was the patrimony of the poor, who practised virtue in silence, and did good to all without respect of persons); how could they become objects of jealousy? Herod himself did not pursue John the Baptist into the wilderness to strip him of his camel's hair: it was after having raised his voice against incest, that the prophet's head was brought bleeding into the festive hall, a sacrifice to the fury of an adulteress. The Trappists never raised their voice: they left the refutation of infidelity to others; and imagined they had no room to dread that, amidst the refinements of luxury, they would be deprived of their unseasonable vegetables and sackcloth. But their abbot was

a nobleman, descended from one of the first families in Languedoc ; and in their community were several others as equally remarkable for their virtues and birth, as for their inviolable attachment to religion.

This was high treason against equality, which recognizes no distinction of rank or birth, and against philosophical liberty, which considers religion as too great a restraint on the passions of various kinds, the gratification whereof was considered as the supreme happiness of man, by infidels, who inscribe on the gates of the dormitories of the dead, "that death is an eternal sleep;" and thus confound parricide and filial duty, the murder of the innocent and the relief of the wretched, the blackest crimes and the purest virtue, in the horrors of the grave. What a contrast ! What a change ! This very desert, where the traveller met with security, is now the haunt of robbers, too strong even for the police of the country ; such are the fruits of impiety, which has raised its trophies on the ruins of religion !

The weeds of penance not being a safeguard against the fury of men, to whom birth and religion were equally obnoxious, and foreseeing that the storm which was vertical over Paris, and had torn up by the roots the tree of the French monarchy, with all its branches or gradations of rank, and laid prostrate the church

and her pastors, would soon spread to the forest of La Trappe, the abbot and his venerable community thought it expedient to seek for shelter in some distant land : not so much from dread of death, with which they familiarized themselves ; having as constant memorials of it before their eyes as Charles V., who daily prayed over his coffin. What they dreaded most was, that a perverse generation, who, like the Jews, whom Christ reproached with having slaughtered the prophets, would fill up the measure of their iniquities, by shedding the blood of the innocent. An apprehension which the innumerable massacres afterwards committed fully justified.

They, in consequence, wrote to the senate of Switzerland, who received them with open arms. In that once happy republic, in the mountains of Friburg, the fathers of La Trappe fixed their abode. They changed climate, without changing their principles. There, on the mountain, as in the forest of La Trappe, during a residence of six or seven years, thousands of every rank and religion witnessed and experienced the same charity, hospitality, and attention that distinguished their former solitude. But the evil genius of France pursued them almost to the foot of the Alps. French emissaries and French principles were the forerunners and guides of the French armies. The happiest republic on earth was overturned on a

sudden: the senate was destroyed: the wise and virtuous, who had opened an asylum for the strangers, were obliged to fly their own country; and the fathers of La Trappe were forced a second time from their hospitable and peaceful mansions.

It is now, when all their resources are exhausted, that they have room to regret not having thought, in the beginning of the revolution, to go and settle in some of the wilds of America; or, rather, the proprietors of extensive tracts of uncultivated ground in those immense regions have room to regret it. For people whose daily occupation is manual labor, who live upon little, and relieve the distressed, would be an acquisition instead of a burthen, and the best and most useful of tenants, even in the best cultivated parts of Europe, could they but meet with some landlord who would let some of his ground to them, and permit them to live according to their institution, with or without their religious habits.

Inhabitants of the desert since the foundation of their order, devoted to a solitary life from their principles as well as from inclination, what a change in the neighbouring district, if they settled in the midst, or on the verge, of some of those immense forests, where trees, as ancient as the deluge, have never felt the edge of the woodman's axe, nor afforded a shade to

a human being ! Their hospitable mansion would, as heretofore, afford refreshment to the wearied huntsman, exhausted by pursuing the martin, the sable, the beaver, on account of their fur, as well as an accommodation to the wandering and inquisitive travellers. Around it, roving Indians, softened by the kindness of the new settlers, who would give them the best of their fare, and keep the worst for themselves, would fix their abode. Allured by kindness, and encouraged by example, they would exchange their scalping knives and arrows for the spade and the plough, the parent of cultivation and plenty : a golden harvest would hereafter crown the fertile field, where nothing now grows but weeds and underwood. Towns and villages would rise by degrees in those uncultivated ranges where wild beasts now prowl for their prey, and contribute to the support of the state, within whose jurisdiction they would be built : young savages, instructed in the rudiments of Christian morality, would become useful members of society ; and the words of the prophet would be confirmed, “ the wilderness and solitary places will be glad for them ; and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as a rose.”

They cannot be ignorant of what the world knows, and history will transmit to future ages in the glowing colors of the best deserved panegyric, that England, whose martial achieve-

ments can only be equalled by her generous deeds, has been at an enormous expence, not only in maintaining a long and obstinate contest, without which the liberties of Europe would be this instant prostrate at the feet of rapacious conquerors ; but also in relieving, for so many years, such a number of emigrants, and providing for the wants of her own inhabitants, in those times of calamity. But pressing wants and extreme necessity, which cry from the banks of the Elbe, “ send us some immediate relief, or else we perish,” pierce the heart of the abbot of the religious, and the father of the orphans, who is now on the banks of the Thames, and compel him, with the greatest reluctance, to apply to the charity of such of the nobility and gentry as may honor this memorial with a perusal, as well as to others who may hear of the distressed situation of his religious and after the harvest of English generosity, which others have reaped, to solicit some of the gleanings ; as Hamburgh is quite exhausted by emigrants from France, Holland, Italy, Flanders, from all places where the republican armies overturned the ancient governments, and dispossessed or proscribed the friends and abettors of their former rulers.

APPENDIX F.

(Referred to in Page 286.)

The following is given by Sir Henry Parnell, in his History of the Penal Laws, as a correct enumeration of the various disabilities under which the catholics now labour:

Education.—Catholics cannot teach school, unless they take the oaths of 13 & 14 Geo. III. c. 35. They cannot take protestant scholars, or be ushers to protestant schoolmasters, 32 Geo. III. c. 20.

Guardianship.—They cannot be guardians unless they take the oaths 13 & 14 Geo. III. c. 35. If ecclesiastics, they cannot under any circumstances be guardians; nor can any catholic be guardian to the child of a protestant, 30 Geo. III. c. 29.

Marriage.—If a catholic clergyman marries a protestant and a catholic, the marriage is null and void, and he is liable to suffer death, 32 Geo. III. c. 21.

Self-defence.—No catholic can keep arms unless he possesses a freehold estate of £10 per annum, or personal estate of £300. If so qualified, he must further qualify himself by taking the oaths of 13 & 14 Geo. III. c. 35., unless he has

a freehold estate of £100 per annum, or a personal estate of £1,000, 33 Geo. III. c. 21.

Exercise of Religion.—The catholic clergy must take the oaths of 13 & 14 Geo. III. c. 35., and register their place of abode, age, and parish. No chapel can have a steeple or bell : no funeral can take place in any chapel yard ; and no rites or ceremonies of the religion or habits of their order are permitted, except within their several places of worship, or in private houses, 21 & 22 Geo. III. c. 24. § 6.

Property.—The laws of Anne are in force against all catholics who do not take the oaths of 13 & 14 Geo. III. c. 35. ; and also against all protestants who may have relapsed or become converts to the catholic religion.

Franchises.—Catholics cannot sit in parliament. They cannot vote at elections for members without taking the oaths of 13 & 14 Geo. III. c. 35. and of 33 Geo. III. c. 21. They cannot vote at vestries. They cannot be barristers, attornies, or professors of medicine on Sir P. Dunne's foundation, without taking the oaths of 13 & 14 Geo. III. c. 35. and of 33 Geo. III. c. 21., or even fowlers or gamekeepers.

Catholic Soldiers.—By the mutiny act, if they refuse to frequent the church of England worship when ordered to do so by their commanding officer, shall, for the first offence, forfeit 2*d.* ;

and for the second, not only forfeit 12*d.*, but be laid in irons for twelve hours ; and by the second section, art. 5. of the articles of war, the punishment even extends to that of death.

An Irish catholic officer or soldier, on landing in Great Britain, Jersey, or Guernsey, is immediately liable to the penalty, among others, the English act, 1 Geo. I. c. 13. of forfeiting £300.

Catholics are excluded from holding the offices of governor, deputy governor, or director of the bank of Ireland.

No part, scarcely, in fact, of the penal code is repealed ; but all of it is now the law of the land, and in full force against those catholics who have not qualified themselves for relief from its violence by taking the oaths of 13 & 14 Geo. III. c. 35., or who may have lapsed or become converts to the catholic religion.

THE END.

and for the second, not only forfeit 10*l*. but be
 laid in irons for twelve hours; and by the second
 section, art. 5. of the articles of war, the punish-
 ment even extends to that of death.

An Irish catholic officer or soldier, on landing
 in Great Britain, Jersey, or Guernsey, is imme-
 diately liable to the penalty, among others, the
 English act, 1 Geo. I. c. 13. of forfeiting 200*l*.
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THE END.

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